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ABSTRACT

The major question addressed in a study of secondary school teachers was, to what degree do organizational incentives result in maintaining in the profession committed teachers whose primary satisfactions and reasons for persistence are related to students, curriculum, and classroom procedures? Interviews were conducted with 30 secondary school teachers, 20 former teachers, and 10 administrators from 8 school districts surrounding a large Midwestern city. Responses were examined with reference to three stages in the occupational lives of teachers: entry into the profession, maintenance issues related to day-to-day occupational factors, and continuance in the profession. The major conclusion from the analysis was that there are few extrinsic incentives (those that are within the control of the organization) that can be differentially allocated to individuals to affect performance directly. Intrinsic motivation was found to be the most powerful link to teacher performance. School administrators, bargaining groups, professional societies, and community members who support the educational system need to focus their attention on internalized motivators which are central to a teacher's sense of worth and professional well-being. (Authors/FG)

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Working Paper No. 323

COMMITMENT TO TEACHING: TEACHERS' RESPONSES TO ORGANIZATIONAL INCENTIVES

by

Marvin J. Fruth, Paul V. Bredeson, and Katherine L. Kasten

Report from the Program on
Student Diversity and School Processes

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Preface

The impetus for this study grew out of two concerns about public school teaching. First, it is important that intelligent and energetic people who were attracted to teaching as a career and have been successful as teachers remain in the profession. It is an obvious benefit to public schools to keep good teachers on staff, but it is not clear that good teachers become career teachers. Secondly, it is equally important that teachers who remain in the profession also remain engaged in the primary concerns of teaching--children and curriculum. The possibility that schools will retain disengaged employees is of special concern now for two reasons. One is that declining enrollments and resources for education have reduced mobility and turnover in the profession. Senior teachers are likely to remain in a single school system, remain as classroom teachers rather than move to administration, and remain in teaching rather than seek employment in other, less secure occupations. A second reason is that among the by-products of collective bargaining have been wages and fringe benefits that make teaching economically more attractive and bargaining agreements which reduce the discretionary power of administrators, especially the powers to offer differential rewards to faculty and staff and to nonrenew ineffective teachers. Both forces permit ineffective teachers to remain in the system and to receive benefits nearly equal to those obtained by the best teachers.

Concerns with keeping effective teachers and keeping teachers who stay in the schools engaged in the primary concerns of schools suggested the research questions that define this study. Basically, the research was designed to identify the incentives available to public secondary school teachers; to analyze whether these incentives have the potential to encourage teachers' work with students and the curriculum; and to examine whether these incentives vary in efficacy over the course of a teacher's career. The last major research directed at these questions was that done by Daniel Lortie and reported in Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study (1975). However, Lortie's book was based on data collected in the early sixties. We presumed that things had changed since then, that both the importance of collective bargaining and the declining economic picture in education and in the nation would have had an effect on teachers' attitudes towards their jobs and toward the rewards available to them. Thus, we wanted to test Lortie's analyses in a different political and economic climate.

As we began the study, we assumed we would find a large proportion of dissatisfied teachers, disengaged from the goals of the organizations in which they worked and relatively uncommitted to the students with whom they met, teachers who felt they had few options. Let us state, then, at the beginning of this report that we did not find many of those disengaged teachers in the suburban high schools in which we gathered the data for this study. In addition, we found that the former teachers we interviewed had an affectionate nostalgia

for public secondary schools and the students and close colleagues who people them.

We should also make it clear that in part our results may be due to the nature of our population and our sample. We interviewed only teachers and former teachers who would have continued to be employed by school districts if they desired to be. Thus, the totally disengaged and ineffective were eliminated from the beginning. However, we did not limit our sample to superstars. In four of the five districts in which we interviewed teachers, respondents were chosen at random from stratified staff lists. We are confident our sample of teachers was representative of the staffs in those schools. Though the former teachers we interviewed could not be randomly selected, they were chosen because of years of experience in the classroom and geographical convenience rather than outstanding performance as classroom teachers.

Public schools are severely limited in the incentives they can offer teachers, and few of those incentives are effective in influencing performance. Those assertions will be supported in the discussion which follows. Both have implications for those who are concerned with public schools and the quality of education that students in those schools receive. We will conclude this report by examining some of those implications, recommending directions which future research might take, and offering suggestions which those concerned about public schools and the quality of life for public school teachers should consider.

Thanks are due to the Wisconsin Center for Education Research and to several people who provided help with this research. Special thanks are due to administrators, teachers, and former teachers from the school districts that participated in this study. Several graduate students in the Department of Educational Administration helped in piloting the interview schedules, and thanks are also due to them. We also thank those reviewers of the original research proposal whose helpful suggestions were incorporated into the design of the study. Special thanks are due to Elvira Benter for the careful assembling of our illegible drafts. Responsibility for the contents of the study and this report must, however, lie with the researchers.

Abstract

The impetus for this study grew out of a concern about the ability of secondary public schools to attract and keep successful teachers who are engaged in the primary concerns of teaching--students and curriculum. The research questions addressed in this study are closely tied to previous investigations which have dealt with teacher work life and occupational well-being. The study also draws on organizational theory related to incentive distribution in organizations.

The study addressed itself to one major research question: To what degree do organizational incentives in secondary school teaching result in maintaining in the profession teachers who are committed to the profession and whose primary satisfactions and reasons for staying in the classroom are related to students, curriculum, and classroom procedures? To answer this question, personal interviews were conducted in fall of 1981 with 30 teachers who were at the time in classroom teaching, 20 former teachers, and 10 administrators from eight school districts surrounding a large midwestern city. Responses were examined with reference to three stages in the occupational lives of teachers: entry into the profession, maintenance issues related to day-to-day occupational factors, and continuance in the profession.

A typology for analysis of reward systems for secondary public school teachers is suggested in the final chapter. The major conclusion from this analysis is that there are few incentives that are within the control of the organization, that can be differentially allocated to individuals, and that can be used to affect performance directly. Intrinsic motivation, although outside the direct control of the organization, is the most powerful link to teacher performance in the organization. Thus, schools can best increase the likelihood that teachers will join and remain in the organization, perform their assigned roles dependably, and occasionally perform innovative and cooperative acts by using external rewards, specifically individual rewards and leader support to create a school environment where the intrinsically motivated professional can pursue excellence.

Since the findings and conclusions indicate that the most powerful motivational forces which attract, maintain, and keep successful teachers in the classroom are a complex of intrinsic rewards generally outside the direct control of the organization, school administrators, bargaining groups and professional societies, and the community which supports the educational system need to focus their attention on internalized motivators which are central to a teacher's sense of worth and professional well-being.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The theoretical framework for this study and previous research which is relevant will be discussed in two sections. In the first, literature which is relevant to the analysis of organizations will be reviewed. In the second, research on the nature of teacher work life will be summarized.

Organizations and Incentives

The theoretical framework on which this study is based postulates that organizations can be analyzed as incentive distribution systems. Georgiou (1973) proposed this approach as a counter paradigm to the familiar goal-oriented study of organizations.

The foundations of the analysis of organizations as incentive distribution systems is found in Barnard's book The Functions of the Executive (1938, 1964). Barnard argued that incentives are "fundamental in formal organizations and in conscious efforts to organize" (p. 139). He also noted that "inadequate incentives mean dissolution, or change in organization purpose, or failure of cooperation" (p. 139). The organization's problem is to find positive incentives or to reduce or eliminate negative ones in order to make work more attractive and/or less onerous. Barnard postulated that different people are motivated by different incentives or combinations of incentives at different times.

Barnard differentiated between the process of offering objective incentives (what he called the method of incentives) and the process of changing subjective attitudes (what he called the method of persuasion). While all organizations use both, commercial organizations almost wholly emphasize the method of incentives, while political and religious organizations put more emphasis on the method of persuasion such as coercion, rationalization of opportunity, and modification of motives through education and propaganda.

Barnard's analysis divided incentives into two classes. The first is specific inducements, that is, incentives that can be offered directly to an individual. These include material inducements, personal and nonmaterial opportunities such as prestige or personal power, desirable physical conditions, and ideal benefactions such as pride in workmanship or sense of adequacy. The second is general incentives which cannot be directly offered to the individual but are nonetheless important. These include associational attractiveness, adapting conditions to habitual methods and attitudes, opportunities for enlarged participation, and conditions of community.

Clark and Wilson (1961) expanded Barnard's analysis of incentive systems. The basic hypothesis of Clark and Wilson's approach is that the incentive system of an organization can be treated as the principle variable affecting organizational behavior. Several additional premises formed the basis of their analysis. Among them are the following:

1. Incentives are by definition scarce.

2. An organization's incentive output must not exceed its available resources.

3. It is the function of the executive to maintain his organization. [The executive] does this by attempting to obtain a net surplus of incentives and by distributing incentives to elicit contributions of activity. (pp. 132-133)

Clark and Wilson divided incentives into types somewhat differently from Barnard. They distinguished three categories: material incentives, a subcategory of Barnard's specific incentives; solidary incentives, those that arise from association such as sense of group membership and identification, a category which seems to include most of Barnard's general incentives; and purposive incentives, intangible incentives that derive from the purposes of association. Clark and Wilson concluded their article by examining the issues of organizational change, organizational competition, and motivational change from the framework of organizations as incentive systems. They pointed out that in order to survive, organizations change as contributors change. However, they also noted that it is important to be concerned with the consequences of different methods of maintenance, not simply with maintenance. This suggests that incentives in organizations should be examined to determine whether the rewards which are offered to contributors are such that the function or work of the institution is of primary concern. In educational organizations it is important to examine whether teachers remain in the profession because of concerns about students and their education or because of ancillary incentives which the organization has made available.

In Georgiou's (1973) analysis, organizations are not incentive distribution systems but rather market places in which incentives are exchanged. Power in the organization can be defined as a function of the capacity of a member to contribute incentives to other organizational members. Georgiou suggested that the power of any organizational member depends on replaceability and dispensability, the extent to which the member could be replaced by others who offer more incentives and the degree to which the rewards the member provides are valued by others. Georgiou contrasted this view of power with that suggested in analyses of organizations as goal-fulfilling organizations:

> Power in organizations is thus highly complex. It reflects organization members' assessment of their own and others' dispensability and replaceability within an intricate network of exchanges, as contrasted with the goal paradigm's view that the distribution and exercise of power is to be understood in terms of the logic supplied by some superordinate goal (p. 308).

Georgiou concluded that organizations are best understood by examining the outcomes of complex exchanges between individuals pursuing diverse goals.

Katz and Kahn (1978) identified three organizational requirements for members: staying in the system, doing dependable work, and occasionally performing innovative acts supportive to the organizations's policies. For members to meet these requirements, the organization has three types of incentives: rule enforcement, external rewards, and internalized motivation. Members obey rules because they are legitimate and enforced by legal sanctions. This

incentive bears no relationship to the activity itself and by itself will not keep members in the organization if alternatives exist.

External rewards are linked to the desired behavior and include four subtypes. System rewards are earned through membership and increased through seniority. They include such things as pensions, sick leave, and cost of living allowances. While system rewards are not directly tied to performance, if members like the organization they might be more willing to cooperate with others and might contribute to a positive image of the organization with external publics.

Individual rewards come in the forms of pay increases, promotions, and piece rates. While they have potential to motivate, in organizations with negotiated, lock-step salary schedules, they are limited in differentiating among the rank and file. Approval from the leader, the third subtype, has potential for meeting the organizational requirements if the leader is respected and perceived as powerful. Finally, approval by the peer group can be an organizational incentive to the extent that group norms and organizational requirements are congruent.

Internalized motivation, the final organizational incentive that enhances organizational requirements, is at the same time the most powerful and the most difficult to achieve. Some members find intrinsic job satisfaction from their work, others confirm their values and self-idealization by internalizing the organization's goals, and still others find identity through shared psychological fields and group cohesiveness.

Herzberg's (1966, 1968, 1974) work on motivation is also relevant to this research. Herzberg studied the various job-related factors which affect employee motivation to perform in a job in terms of morale, satisfaction, dissatisfaction, creativity, and productivity. Basing his work partly on Maslow's theoretical framework of a hierarchy of individual human needs, Herzberg proposed a two-factor theory of job motivation.

The original study, conducted with accountants and engineers, has been replicated in various cultural and occupational settings. The findings suggested that any job has two distinct factors which have an impact on employee motivation and performance: hygiene factors and motivating factors. Although open to criticisms such as nebulous language, a lack of attention to money as a motivator, and certain methodological problems, Herzberg's two-factor theory does provide a valuable framework for examining "job content" and "job context" in terms of incentives and disincentives in organizations.

Hygiene factors, also called maintenance factors, are those elements which are extrinsic to the job itself. They are, in fact, the context in which the actual job is performed. Factors such as company policies and administration, salary, supervision, interpersonal relations in the work setting, and working conditions are among those factors which, if perceived as positive by employees, prevent employee dissatisfaction. None of these extrinsic factors, according to Herzberg, has any substantial effect on employee motivation, nor do any of these factors encourage employee creativity and productivity.

However, if these factors are perceived as negative they have a significant impact on morale and contribute to dissatisfaction.

Motivators are those factors which are associated with the intrinsic elements of the job itself. These factors are closely associated with Maslow's higher order need for "self-actualization." Factors such as achievement, recognition, job content, opportunities for advancement, and the assumption of responsibility are motivators to the employee. These motivators contribute positively to individual employee job satisfaction, but their absence does not produce dissatisfaction. The absence of job satisfaction is not dissatisfaction. Likewise, hygiene (maintenance) factors are neutral in terms of job satisfaction. That is, the lack of dissatisfaction does not equal satisfaction. When hygiene factors are absent, they do contribute to job dissatisfaction and low employee morale.

This study, then, grows out of a clear theoretical framework and contributes to that framework. The framework suggests that it is important to analyze whether functional organizational incentives in public school teaching are general or specific (Barnard, 1938, 1964); whether they are external or internal to the system (Katz & Kahn, 1978); whether they can be used to influence individual performance relative to the primary work of the organization (Clark & Wilson, 1961); whether they are, in fact, valued by classroom teachers (Georgiou, 1973); and whether they can be used to increase job satisfaction (Herzberg, 1966, 1968, 1974). In turn, the research tests the efficacy of this framework for the analysis of secondary public schools.

The Nature of Teacher Work Life

Research which has examined the nature of teaching as a profession also contributed to the background for this study. Several studies which have been influential in the formulation of research questions, methodology, and analysis in this research are summarized below.

One of the most thorough sociological studies of teaching as an occupation was conducted by Lortie (1975). Data were collected in 94 intensive interviews with teachers in the Boston metropolitan area in the summer of 1963. Using stratified random sampling to ensure a range of teacher respondents from various grade levels and socio-economic settings in which they taught, Lortie conducted his interviews in five suburban school systems represented by 13 schools: six elementary, five junior high, and two high schools. Lortie followed up these interviews with a survey of teachers in Dade County, Florida, in 1964. From this survey and a 1967 National Education Association study, he was able to check his findings from the 94 interviews against other research findings.

Lortie suggested that the "ethos" of teaching is essentially a product of a unique vocational history and is reinforced by particular patterns of recruitment, a distinct socialization process, and a unique system of career and work rewards. The recruitment process is characterized by ease of entrance into the profession and generally nonelitist admission standards. Lortie categorized major attractors to the occupation of teaching under five themes:

the interpersonal theme (working with people); the social theme; the continuation theme (continuing interests developed as a student); material benefits; and time compatibility.

Lortie classified three types of rewards which are available in teaching: extrinsic, ancillary, and psychic. Extrinsic rewards are salary, fringe benefits, level of prestige, and power over others. Lortie viewed these as extrinsic because they exist independent of the individual who holds the role, are experienced by all role incumbents, and have a certain "objective" quality about them. These extrinsic rewards are quite predictable, comparatively unstaged, and front loaded, all of which make teaching an occupation which is relatively "careerless."

Lortie defined ancillary rewards as those rewards which accompany the occupation per se and are perceived both objectively and subjectively in terms of how they meet an individual's needs. These rewards tend to be stable over time, "taken for granted" rather than specified in contracts, and present for employees whether they make high or limited effort in the job. Lortie stated that ancillary rewards are incentives which affect entry into the occupation more than the effort and performance of those already in the occupation.

Psychic rewards are completely subjective valuations by individuals with respect to both the context and content of the particular job. Because the culture of teachers and structure of rewards in teaching do not emphasize extrinsic rewards and there is no differentiation of ancillary benefits, Lortie believed psychic rewards to be of primary importance to teachers.

Lortie asserted that the system of reward distribution and structure of incentives reinforce the ethos of teaching, which is characterized by "conservatism," the notion of personal objectives based on past experience rather than universal goals; "individualism," the alignment of individual goals within one's own capacity and interest rather than some universal professional objectives; and "presentism," the orientation of teachers to current issues and short-ranged goals.

The purpose of Cusick's (1973) earlier research was to examine school life for high school students in a medium-sized high school in a district adjacent to a metropolitan area. He focused his research by observing in depth a group of male senior athletes. However, Cusick's description of the school life of students also presented relevant facets of the school life of teachers. He described two separate subsystems at Horatio Gates High School: a "production subsystem" which included everything related to the curriculum and learning and a "maintenance subsystem" designed to support the production subsystem and composed of rules and procedures. Teachers in the system presented themselves to students as subject matter specialists with few personal problems, conflicts, or concerns with emotional issues. Teachers seemed remarkably alike in their thoughts and actions, differing only in the degree of finesse with which they could maintain student interest. In Cusick's view several characteristics of the school (and all schools) made it virtually impossible for teachers to act otherwise: subject matter specialization, vertical organization, the doctrine of adolescent inferiority, downward

communication flow, batch processing of students, routinization, dependence on rules and regulations, future reward orientation for students, and the physical structure. It was in details of the maintenance system that Cusick found the major source of conflict between teachers and administrators: "It appeared that most teachers regarded supervision of students as an odious burden which interfered with their teaching" (p. 36). Cusick observed that approximately 75 percent of the talking in classroom interactions was done by teachers. School seemed relatively undemanding of students, and approximately three hours of a student's day were taken up by details of maintenance. Personal interaction between students and teachers was not encouraged or rewarded, and, in fact, the organizational structure of the school mitigated against such interactions.

In 1981 Cusick reported observations of the teaching staffs at two comprehensive secondary schools. Cusick's primary purpose was to examine the networks of interactions within each staff and the effects of these networks on the curriculum. Several of his observations reinforced the individuality that Lortie noted in the teaching profession. Teachers found individual and idiosyncratic ways to accommodate themselves to their job. Some, for example, made their jobs the center of their lives, and others made their families, second jobs, or avocations their primary interests. Teachers varied widely in methods, in educational philosophy, and in emphasis. Cusick noted several reinforcers to this individualized approach. Among them he listed lack of standard curriculum

required of all students, lack of scrutiny from colleagues, and the general philosophy that it was most important that teachers get along with and be responsive to students. Most directly relevant to this research, Cusick observed that limited rewards were available for dispensation by principals. Principals could not hire, fire, promote, demote, or provide differential pay. Principals could, however, support teachers' individualistic versions of their jobs, and this support was provided to teachers whose activities assisted the principals in presentation of the school in a favorable light to the public. Cusick speculated that teachers who wanted no special programs, classes, or schedules would be difficult to influence with such rewards.

Though Metz's study (1978) was focused on authority problems in desegregated secondary schools, some of her description and analysis is relevant to this study of teachers' professional commitments. Metz noted that schools are confronted with a paradoxical mission: to educate children and to keep order. Unless children are themselves in agreement with both these goals, the methods used to obtain one goal are likely to inhibit attainment of the other. Teachers respond to this paradox in a number of ways. The two most frequently occurring ideal types in the schools Metz observed she labeled the "incorporative" teachers, those who took subject matter as their primary concern, and the "developmental" teachers, those whose primary concern was with students. Roles teachers took in the classroom were identified by Metz as parental, bureaucratic, expert professional, and facilitating leader, with incorporative

teachers generally adopting the first two and developmental teachers favoring the latter two. In the classrooms, Metz found that teachers used several methods of control: arrangement of the situation, use of exchange through teacher-dispensed rewards, personal influence, manipulation, and coercion. In the corridors or areas of the school outside the classrooms, several of these methods were no longer options. Arrangement, exchange, and personal influence, the mainstays of developmental teachers, were ineffective in the corridors where no academic benefits could be offered and personal relations were limited. However, the effectiveness of manipulation and coercion were limited in these schools, too, because white parents were vocal defenders of the children's civil rights and black parents were concerned about inequities in the treatment of their children. In one of the schools Metz observed, there was a major split between the faculty who favored the developmental approach and those who favored the incorporative. The split was reflected in student disorder in the corridors. But the staff at this school dealt with fundamental questions about educational philosophy, the mission of the school, and student-teacher relations. In the second school the staff generally agreed on the incorporative approach, but teachers in that school were less articulate about fundamental educational issues, more concerned with issues of system maintenance, and more likely to feel that problems in their classrooms were solely their own faults and responsibilities.

A 1979 Michigan study by Kornbluh and Cooke compared the quality of teacher work life with that of workers of all kinds and a subsample of college graduates surveyed in 1977 on The Quality of Employment Survey (Quinn & Staines, 1979). The perceptions of the 200 teachers from 25 schools (including eight high schools) in southeast Michigan added up to a lower quality for teacher work life. Teachers were concerned about health and safety hazards, unpleasant work environment, inconvenient or excessive work hours, desires for additional fringe benefits, inadequate resources, and poor mobility and job security.

The researchers concluded that "the lower quality of work life seems to be clearly attributable to characteristics within the schools and not with the teachers." They speculated that the stresses felt by teachers come from four main sources: role demands, instructional problems, the physical working environment, and interpersonal relationships. However, the last did not prove as important as expected either in augmenting or reducing well-being.

They found that the quality of work life varied between schools, but where vertical communication existed, job satisfaction was higher. Teachers did not want to manage the schools, but they did want some say over technical decisions that affected their classroom operation and performance. These decisions concerned choice of curriculum materials, resolution of learning problems, and handling of student discipline and parent complaints. Morale was higher in schools in which teachers could talk these over with their administrators and have some input.

In a study recently completed on vocational adaptation and teacher job satisfaction, Douglas Heath (1981) contended that teachers in independent schools, like other professionals, are primarily concerned about issues and respond to incentives which are elusive to define and are very difficult to administer by the organization. Using a set of 28 job-related and personal attributes, Heath analyzed the rankings for each item given by 125 male and 125 female teachers. Of the 28 items listed, the four attributes which were most relevant to teachers' vocational adaptation and satisfaction were the following:

1. Meets most of my strongest needs.
2. Provides the opportunity for personal growth and satisfaction for most of my working life.
3. The job utilizes my best potentials.
4. Degree of self-fulfillment which individual secures from the job. (p. 9)

Attributes which were ranked as "most peripheral" or least important to the meaning of job satisfaction were the following:

1. Salary and service received for work done.
2. My competence for the type of work I do.
3. The amount of time I spend on my job.
4. Status and prestige of my occupation. (p. 10)

The data also suggested that despite the low salary, time demand, and prestige factors, teachers are sustained by three basic rewards:

1. Helping the responsive child discover talent and skills.
2. Receiving the respect of the parents.
3. The freedom and independence to innovate, to continue to grow, and to be part of an ethically concerned profession. (p. 13)

According to Heath, these rewards today are becoming increasingly elusive and uncertain. He pointed out, however, that "teaching is one of the few professions that provides almost no visible hierarchy of incentives. Even salaries are based on putting in time, not quality of attainment" (p. 16).

Based on the comparison of responses from 250 teachers and 106 other professionals, Heath concluded that teachers do not appear to be professionally unique in their vocational adaptation and job satisfaction. Indeed, there are striking similarities between them and other professionals. In terms of organizational incentive systems and their impact on employee satisfaction, morale, and continuance in the occupation, Heath concluded that the core attributes of vocational satisfaction to which teachers respond are not amenable to "quick fix" solutions of increased salaries, better working conditions, or even reduced teaching loads. Intrinsic rewards related to a teacher's sense of personhood, professional identity, personal meanings and hopes make teaching more of a calling than a job. If these core concerns which make teaching a "calling" are diminished, extrinsic rewards such as salaries, working conditions, hours, and control over duties emerge as much more significant issues. "When this happens, a vocation becomes less central to one's identity and begins to acquire the attributes of drudgery" (p. 28).

Though more modest in scope than the studies summarized above, this research reinforces what other researchers have asserted about the nature of teacher work life, updates and modifies the analysis

of previous researchers, and provides more information about teachers' views of themselves as professionals. In addition, the study ties this discussion into a broader theoretical framework and suggests several directions which future research in this area might take.

CHAPTER II

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The design and methodology employed in this research will be presented in five sections in this chapter: the rationale for the methodology used, the population and sample selection, a description of the data collection methods and instrumentation, the procedures used in analyzing the data, and limitations of the study.

Purpose of the Study

To examine the key issues on which this research project focused, both quantitative and qualitative methodologies were employed. The study addressed itself to one major research question: To what degree do organizational incentives in secondary school teaching result in maintaining in the profession teachers who are committed to the profession and whose primary satisfactions and reasons for staying in the classroom are related to students, curriculum content, and classroom procedures? To answer this question, five prior questions were considered. The answers to these questions were the basis of the key issues explored in this study and, when woven together, formed the focus of a response to the major research question.

1. What are the organizational incentives which are available to secondary school teachers?

2. Is there a difference in the impact of these incentives at different stages in a secondary teacher's professional career?
3. What are the effects of these incentives on individual teachers' allocations of time and energy?
4. Are the incentives which are available to secondary teachers within or outside the control of the organization?
5. Is there a difference in the efficacy of the identified incentives between successful teachers who remain in the classroom and successful teachers who left classroom teaching?

The exploratory nature of the study permitted the collection of some quantitative data; however, in order to gain a clearer understanding of the key issues and individual teachers' reactions to various organizational incentives, extensive interviews were used. Though it is difficult to ensure that interviews will tap the "real reasons" for human behavior, some safeguards have been built into the study. Interviews were conducted in the fall of 1981 with successful teachers who were still in the classroom and successful teachers who had left the classroom. The carefully constructed interview schedule was used which permitted interviewers to probe for reasons given for particular answers beyond categorical responses. Anonymity of individual respondents and participating school districts was ensured. Finally, interviews were conducted with five principals

and five superintendents from the school districts to cross-validate information received from teachers and to determine administrators' perceptions of the incentives available to teachers. Since there were few differences in responses given by principals and administrators, their responses were tabulated together.

Population and Sample Selection

The subjects in the study included 50 teachers and former teachers from the suburban areas of a large midwestern city. The subjects represented eight school districts of comparable size, staff, and student composition. Because the investigators believed there were important differences between elementary and secondary teachers, it was decided to sample from a population of secondary school teachers in these suburban school districts. Thus variance in response due to instructional level was eliminated. The narrower definition of the population was considered worth the trade-off for generalizability.

To ensure support of district and building administrators, the research team scheduled preliminary conferences with the administrators in participating school districts. This initial conference was useful in that it gave the investigators a chance to meet personally with participating administrators; it provided the opportunity to discuss in depth the nature of the research project; it was an introduction to the school settings for each of the principal investigators; and it was a means for establishing rapport.

Of the 50 secondary educators who were respondents in the study, 15 men and 15 women were classroom teachers and 7 women and 13 men were former teachers who had left teaching within the last five years. In addition, follow-up interviews with 10 administrators were done to cross-validate previously collected information.

Because it was hypothesized that teacher responses to various organizational incentives would change over time--that is, with increased years of teaching experience--a stratified random selection procedure was employed which ensured representation of male and female teachers from several experience levels. For teachers who were still in the classroom, three strata were operationally defined as follows:

Group 1--teachers who were in their second or third year of successful teaching.

Group 2--teachers who were in their eighth to twelfth year of successful teaching.

Group 3--teachers who had 15 years or more of successful teaching.

Five males and five females were randomly selected in each stratum.

Groups 4 and 5 consisted of former teachers from these eight school districts, though the even division of the sample into males and females could not be maintained for these groups.

Group 4--teachers who had left the classroom between their second and eighth year of successful teaching (ten males and five females).

Group 5--teachers who had left between their eighth and fifteenth year of successful teaching (three males and two females).

The district administrators and building administrators were contacted by telephone, letter, and personal interview soliciting their support for and cooperation in the study. The administrators provided a list of teachers who were currently employed in their districts as well as a list of former teachers from their districts who had left the teaching profession. To be included in the sample pool, each teacher had to have been considered a "successful" teacher under the criteria that he/she had taught for at least two years; was a full-time employee; and had not been considered for disciplinary action, nonrenewal, or dismissal and, therefore, would have been rehired for the coming school year. Since the study focused on classroom teachers, support personnel were excluded from the stratified sample pools.

After a list of potential subjects was compiled using a random numbers table, each potential subject was sent a letter (see Appendix A) which described the study and asked for cooperation in the investigation. The letter was accompanied by an Informed Consent Form (Appendix B), which guaranteed anonymity and safeguards to the teachers choosing to participate.

Description of the Data Collection Method and Instrumentation

The data for this study were collected from 50 respondents using personal interviews. The following section describes the data collection procedures, the interview strategies employed, and the development of three interview schedules.

Data gathered in the interviews were recorded in writing by the interviewer, one of three investigators. The interview schedule per se was designed so that the recording of responses was done with a minimum of difficulty. The intention was to maintain a smooth flow of questions, with enough eye contact and participant interaction so that the recording function was not a detriment to the interview format. The interview approach was useful in gaining a wide range of descriptive comments concerning the key issues in this study.

Recognizing the constraints on the individual teacher's time during a school day, the investigators designed the interview schedule for teachers still in the classroom to take between 40 and 50 minutes. Realizing that a great deal of time could not be used probing individual responses, the investigators opted for a more rigid schedule of questions which could be completed in the teacher's work day without disruption to professional responsibilities.

Though the key issues and focus of the study were constant across interviews with teachers, former teachers, and administrators,

three distinct interview schedules were developed. (See Appendices C, D, and E.) Each schedule was designed to focus on the key issues and major research question, while at the same time carefully tailored to solicit information which was appropriate to the interviewee's current position and status.

The interview schedules were piloted with teachers, former teachers, and administrators in a university setting. The piloting of each of the interview schedules resulted in more refined interviewing strategies by the investigators, a sharper focus on the key issues, clearer questions, and a more efficient and integrated interview within a rather rigid time frame.

For their participation in the study, respondents received a precis of the study, its findings and theoretical and practical implications. Each of the administrators also received this summary. Two complete technical reports were also presented to each of the participating districts.

Analysis of the Data

All of the data were gathered in interviews and the recorded responses were written on the interview schedule. Data which were of a quantifiable nature were coded and compiled using the SPSS computer program (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, & Bent, 1975). Descriptive data, such as frequencies, modes, means, and ranges, were useful in constructing composite profiles of each of the interview groups and for testing the hypotheses posited.

The remainder of the data, which was not amenable to quantification, was analyzed using a "thematic strands" approach. The analysis focused on the five questions cited earlier as key issues which would be addressed in order to answer the major research question. These questions were suggestive of three broad areas which needed to be addressed: entry into the profession, maintenance once in the profession, and continuance or exit from the profession. These themes were employed to address the key issues; to provide insight into the major research question; and to lend support to, refine, or suggest changes in existing theory on incentive structures in education.

Limitations of the Study

The study was limited in that only 50 secondary classroom teachers and former teachers from eight suburban school districts were included. Generalizations to a larger population of secondary school teachers are limited. As an investigatory tool, the personal interview is subject to numerous sources of bias. The three investigators were aware of potential biases and were constantly concerned that their interaction with the interviewee did not affect the responses given to questions. The rather rigid interview schedule also reduced the amount of individual interviewer variance while interviewing subjects. The 45-minute time unit did restrict in-depth probing of individual responses by the researchers. Finally, because some teachers who left the teaching profession from the eight districts had moved away from the area, the pool of potential subjects was

limited. Although subjects could be assigned to Groups 4 and 5 according to the operational definitions, it was not possible to make an even male-female split or to randomly select subjects from within districts.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS

Data collected during the interviews were analyzed by examining the degree to which several themes related to job rewards recurred in respondents' answers. These themes were selected by examination of the responses with consideration of the importance of possible incentives for respondents. Each of these themes will be defined with attention given to its inherent duality, a positive and a negative side, both of which were revealed in the responses of the teachers. The eight themes used for analysis were the following:

1. Working with students. This theme included a range of responses which cited the enjoyment of an occupation in which one was actively working with young people. Teachers also identified as positive factors related to working with students shared fun, rapport, and the pleasure of seeing individual students grow and achieve successes in their learning experiences at school.

The negative aspects of working with students were noted in student disciplinary problems, student immaturity and insensitivity toward others, and the time which teachers had to spend on control and supervisory duties.

2. Subject matter concerns (including extracurricular interests). For many teachers the occupation provided the unique opportunity to combine an interest in a particular subject or content

area with a job in which they could share this enthusiasm with others. Extracurricular areas of interest were included because many of the respondents indicated that activities such as athletic coaching and directing musical groups were primary interests for them in the job.

Subject matter and the demands of extracurricular activities were also expressed in negative terms. Teachers described frustrations in their first few years of teaching when they were trying to learn their "craft" and attempting to develop strategies for success in the classroom and in other activities.

3. Role models. Some respondents described teachers who in some way had played an important part in influencing them to enter teaching, to cultivate an interest in a particular subject area, and at times to emulate a particular teaching style.

The negative model is seen in the person who has remained in teaching too long and who represents the worst possible career scenario. Many teachers did not want to end up like teachers who had lost their enthusiasm for students and for subject matter.

4. Teacher personal growth. This theme included possibilities for the individual teacher to feel a sense of personal gain from the job of teaching. Being able to stretch one's talents, to tap latent strengths, and to regenerate oneself in the job are typical of positive responses categorized under this theme.

The negative side is the spectre of becoming a "drone" in the classroom, with limited chances for growth in the job and

with a sense of frustration. Teachers described not being able to use all of their talents in the job and the structural limitations for advancement and growth within the role of classroom teaching.

5. Schedule and time. On the positive side, time and schedules mean long summer vacations, periodic breaks in the school year, and the fact that the occupation of teaching includes professional working hours, eight o'clock to four o'clock five days a week. In a negative sense, time takes on characteristics of too little time to do what is needed, too much time given to the job beyond the contractual requirements, and no sense of autonomy in scheduling one's time either within the hours of school or sometimes during evenings and weekends.

6. Job security. This issue included a range of responses which suggest that teachers have a sense of comfort about the predictability of the job itself and about their own continuance in the profession. Security is found in the use of general systems rewards for their work (Barnard, 1938, 1964) and in a familiar environment as opposed to the changes, threats, and/or opportunities outside the protected walls of school. The negative side of security is stagnation, which respondents saw in some teachers who stay in their jobs because they need security and "either won't or can't do anything else."

7. Money. On the positive side, fringe benefits are seen as good. Salaries are seen as quite good for those getting their first job out of college, for women who may have entered teaching some time ago, and for working nine months. Although compensation

has improved in an absolute sense, on a relative basis it was seen as too low for the occupation of teaching. The fact that monetary rewards are undifferentially distributed--the result of salary schedules and benefit packages accruing to all members of the organization--was also seen as negative.

8. Support. Teachers described four kinds of support. Administrative support, usually from the principal for the teacher, was expressed in such phrases as "back me up when I make a decision and when I discipline students." Moral support is the need for reassurance that the job done both in the classroom and in all of a teacher's other efforts is important. Material support is the help needed in terms of physical supplies so that the teacher can maintain a successful program. Public support is a broader concept which includes administrative support of the teachers in the community, support for the teacher's professional image, and public support expressed in terms of appreciating the job the teacher does and valuing education in general. The negative side of these support issues is that such support is not always present.

These themes were played against classifications of respondents as teachers or former teachers, males or females, inexperienced, moderately experienced, or highly experienced professionals, and those who expressed high satisfaction with the job or those who expressed low satisfaction. Responses of teachers and former teachers were compared with those of administrators. We were looking for differences that would provide insight into the efficacy of various rewards available to public school teachers.

The findings will be related to three aspects of teacher career development. Key factors which attracted people to the profession will first be discussed. Then we will describe factors which seem important to teachers in day-to-day maintenance in the profession. Finally, we will identify the factors which were most important as respondents discussed continuance in the profession.

Entry Factors

The attractors to teaching described by the respondents in this study fell into seven general categories. The single most frequent response related to working with students, what Lortie (1975) called "the interpersonal theme." Some talked about generally liking to work with people, and others said they liked students or had enjoyed teaching in Sunday schools or as teacher assistants while in high schools. Others, in comments which emphasized service, talked about participating in the development of kids.

Several respondents said they were attracted to teaching because of interest in school subjects. Lortie grouped responses like these into a "continuation theme," that is, continuation of patterns or interests that would be difficult to pursue outside of a school setting. High school teachers often identify themselves with a particular subject area, and several respondents said their subject was the primary reason they became teachers. One respondent wanted a job in a sports-related field; another had a mathematics degree and did not know what else to do with it; a third liked business courses but did not want to be a secretary. A music teacher described her enthusiasm for her

subject: "I didn't plan on teaching, but music was my highest priority. I'm best at it, enjoy it most. So it came down to teaching, and I like it; but it was an accident." Another music teacher described teaching as a way to share her interests. Other respondents combined the desire to work with students and interest in subject matter in their reasons for entering the profession as typified in this response: "I enjoy writing, reading, kids, and young people."

Role models would be expected to have a part in the career choices of teachers. No other occupational choice is so familiar to so many potential recruits. A former teacher felt she had lived through a familiar stereotype: "My whole role model for teaching was my first grade teacher; it's a schleppy story." Others talked about teachers who had major impacts on their lives. A few teachers described the strong influence of teachers in their families, including one woman who described why she became a teacher as follows: "Everyone in the family was a teacher, including my grandmother, who was fantastic. . . . By 14 I gave in."

The time schedule of teaching, with frequent vacations, a lengthy summer break, and hours that coincide with the times children are absent from the home, attracted some teachers to the profession. One woman said, "I liked the fact that there were no night meetings." One man, who began teaching in his late twenties after a first career in industry, said he wanted to have summers off to spend with his children. Another man whose father had been a teacher mentioned the attraction that free summers had for him.

Some teachers saw a potential for personal growth in the profession. The respondent who most explicitly suggested this as the reason she entered the profession said, "I thought it looked interesting, stimulating." However, several women noted that they had wanted careers, and teaching was available to women. One woman who has since left teaching said, "I didn't think about it; women were either a teacher or a nurse." Another woman described a personal need to go back to work following a divorce.

Some respondents mentioned security as the reason they entered teaching; however, their concerns were not with the security of a noncompetitive and essentially tenured position but with the availability of a job. One experienced teacher who entered after serving in the military and after beginning his family said, "Given more personal freedom at the time, I would have gone into medicine." Another began teaching because a job was available and she needed to work while her husband was in graduate school. One man entered to avoid the military.

Finally, for some teachers entering the profession was not a conscious choice. One respondent put it very candidly: "I looked at teaching if I couldn't do anything else. I sort of backed into it."

The most frequently occurring reasons for entering the profession related to students, subject matter, and a combination of the two. Of the 87 reasons respondents gave for entering teaching, 43 related to students or subject matter. Because this configuration is so key in respondents' descriptions of the teaching profession,

the diagram in Figure 1 is suggested as a model for the interplay among teacher, students, and the curriculum. As suggested in the model, some respondents focused on the intersection of teacher and student (as represented by the comment "I enjoy kids"); some on the intersection of teacher and curriculum (represented by the comment "I love the subject"); and some on the relationship between students and curriculum (as represented by the comment "I enjoy seeing kids learn and grow").

The model can be expanded (see Figure 2) to include entry factors that are related to teachers' personal concerns. Time schedules, security, and personal growth were frequently mentioned as important in decisions to enter teaching. Though these factors may affect teacher job satisfaction and have an indirect impact on the teacher-student-curriculum configuration, they are most directly related to teachers' personal needs and cannot necessarily be presumed to affect performance in the classroom.

The model does not account for the place of role models in decisions to enter the field. However, those respondents who talked about exceptional teachers, the ideal types who either influenced their career choices or are outstanding among their colleagues, often portrayed a perfect combination of personal integrity, love for children, and competence in a specialty area.

When administrators were asked whether the pool of candidates in teaching has changed over the past several years (question 12 in the administrative interview schedule), they noted that the pool of

Figure 1
CLASSROOM INTERACTION MODEL

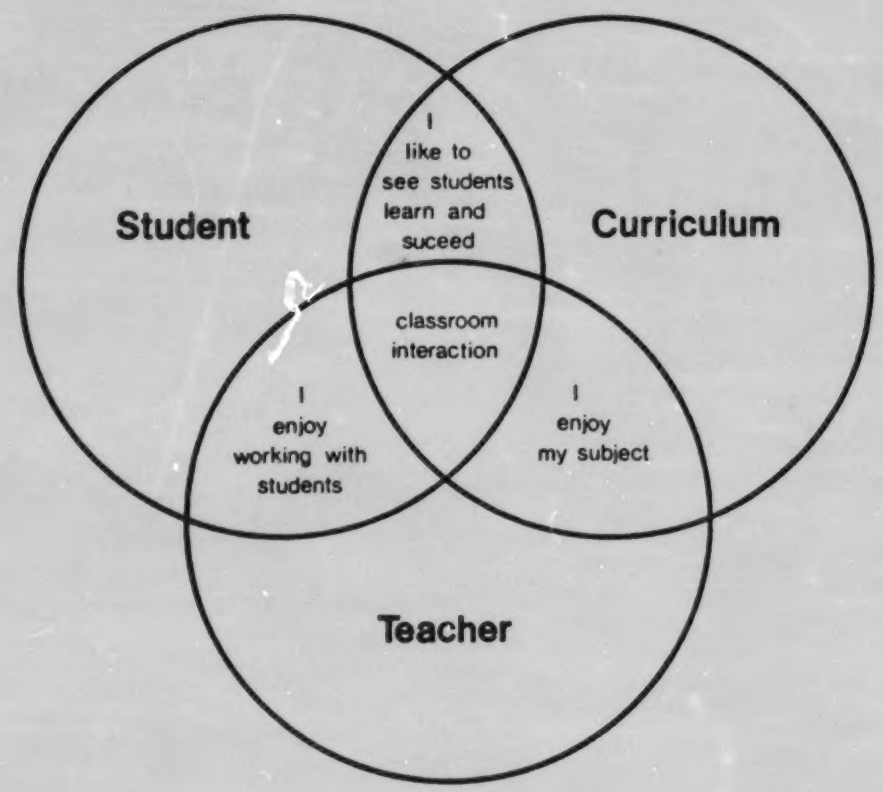
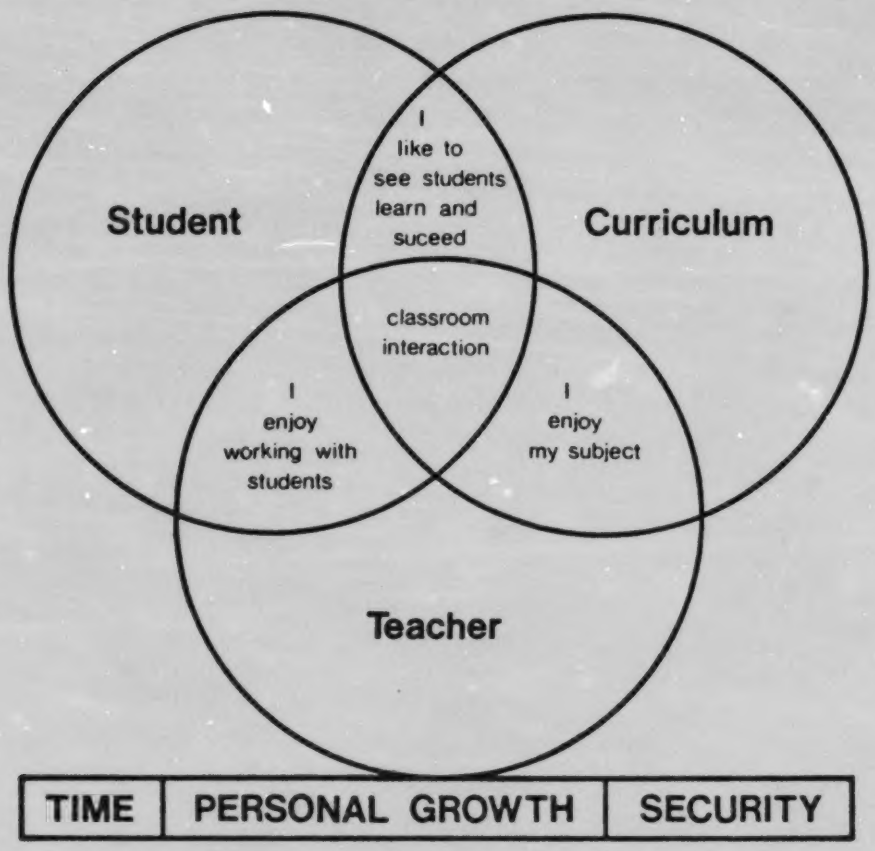


Figure 2

CLASSROOM INTERACTION AND TEACHER PERSONAL NEEDS



teacher candidates today is smaller but better prepared. It requires more effort to find the excellent candidates and attract them to the district. In spite of this general agreement on improved quality, there is some concern that the newer recruits lack the professional commitment of their older colleagues.

When respondents answered a question about whether they would once again choose to become teachers (question 21 in the interview schedules for teachers and former teachers), the importance assigned to these groups shifted rather dramatically. Though the interaction of teacher, students, and curriculum was still important, only one-third of the respondents gave answers related to this configuration. For example, one teacher who would do it again said she found satisfaction in student learning and expressions of student interest in home economics. For another third of the respondents, issues related to personal growth were given for being willing or unwilling to enter the profession again. Unlike the teacher-student-curriculum configuration, which was always offered as supporting a willingness to do it again, personal growth issues were positive or negative. A former teacher who does not regret her experience as a teacher said, "I enjoyed it so much; good things happened to me through teaching." A teacher who plans to leave responded that she would not again choose to be a teacher, that other opportunities for women have opened up. Finally, one-third of the respondents talked about other personal issues such as time, security, and money. Time and security were used to support both positive and negative decisions. Money was described exclusively as a negative factor.

Though responses related to students and curriculum were most frequent among the reasons teachers gave for entering the profession, approximately two-thirds of the responses to a reconsideration of the entry issue related to teacher personal issues such as personal growth, money, and security. This is an important shift in priorities which might be described as a shift from concern with service to students and the subject matter to concern with service to self. A former teacher's response illustrates this shift: "Times changed and I didn't. I got bored and tired of the same old thing. I wanted the kids to motivate me."

Reasons respondents gave for initial entry into the profession and responses to the reentry question were analyzed with attention to the split between teachers and former teachers. Teachers and former teachers did not differ in the reasons they gave for entering the profession or in the importance they attached to those reasons. Administrators we interviewed also did not see differences between the two groups. They agreed that both groups entered because of a sincere interest in working with students. When questioned further, several felt that former teachers might have been a little more idealistic and current teachers more service-oriented. However, teachers and former teachers did differ in their willingness to enter again. Twenty-two, or 73 percent, of the teachers and nine, or 45 percent, of the former teachers said they would become teachers if they had it to do over again. Five, or 17 percent, of the teachers said they would not make the same choice again, while 10, or

50 percent, of the former teachers gave a similar answer. Four respondents replied that they were undecided or unsure. Similarly, teachers and former teachers differ in the reasons given to support their answers. Former teachers were more concerned with personal issues. Reasons related to the teacher-student-curriculum configuration were prevalent in the answers of teachers and absent from those of respondents who have now left teaching.

Maintenance Factors

Factors which were important to respondents in day-to-day work in teaching were provided in the answers to several questions which asked about daily rewards and frustrations in teaching (questions 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 31, 33, 39, 40, and 51 in the schedules for teachers and former teachers). Analysis of responses to these questions indicated that the teacher-student-curriculum configuration was again the focus of concern. However, different aspects of the configuration have different potential for rewards in teaching. In dealing with this issue, Herzberg's (1966) separation of hygiene and motivator factors in job satisfaction seems useful, though we also found dimensions of the job which cut across Herzberg's categories. Concern with subject matter can be used as an example. Subject-related issues were an important source of frustration for teachers during their first year of teaching when they were trying to structure and shape courses and familiarize themselves with materials. Thereafter, subject matter concerns rarely appeared as a negative factor. Work related to the

curriculum, such as program or course development, was mentioned as a source of satisfaction for several people, but it rarely appeared in response to questions about dissatisfaction or frustration.

The combination of students and subject matter appeared more frequently in response to questions about maintenance in the profession than strictly subject matter concerns. Again, however, this combination rarely appeared as a source of frustration. Teachers' comments were frequently similar to this description given in answer to the question about a good day: "When I get kids buzzing, turned on, [and] they questioned me; when they have a commitment to a philosophy." Another teacher said: "When I'm having a good day, the kids seem to be enjoying what they are doing. I feel better." Both subject matter and the concern with students learning subject matter are factors which teachers see as potentially rewarding, but their absence as a source of reward appears to be neutral rather than negative. Teachers seem delighted when student learning or other program-related success could be identified, but they neither appeared to expect it nor viewed its absence as a negative maintenance factor.

Concern for relationships with students is a different matter. It is important to note, first of all, that responses phrased in terms of relations with students were much more frequent than either of the subject-related categories identified above. However, relations with students had the potential for both reward and dissatisfaction. A former teacher said a good day meant "I was joking in

the hall after seventh hour with the students rather than ranting and raving in my office about what a crappy day it had been." A teacher described a good day as one on which students responded enthusiastically to what was going on in class, and a bad day was one on which students were not "on the same wave length." A former teacher described bad days as a series of minor problems that added up to irritation.

Discipline problems and lack of response are the reverse side of positive relations with students. As Lortie (1975) noted, psychic rewards are key in the professional lives of teachers, but the flip side of psychic rewards is the psychic debilitation teachers feel when relations with students become confrontations. In other words, relations with students have enormous potential both as sources of satisfaction and as sources of dissatisfaction. This dual potential makes these relations the central focus in the daily lives of teachers.

Teachers' personal issues such as growth, security, money, and time were also issues in day-to-day life in the schools, though responses fell into these categories less frequently than they had in regard to entry issues. Personal growth was the most frequently mentioned of these personal issues. Though some teachers responded to questions about satisfactions and fun in their work with answers related to personal growth, this issue was more frequently perceived as negative. Teachers and former teachers talked about lack of recognition and incentives, disillusionment, stagnancy, monotony, and lack of direction. Time and monetary rewards were the other

personal issues that teachers mentioned, and both were described in negative terms. Money was identified by four teachers as a major source of dissatisfaction during their last year of teaching. Time constraints were also identified as a source of frustration or unpleasantness. An English teacher said, "It is frantic, not enough time to think, to write, to get my own intellectual house in order. I feel a half a step behind. There are things I should have reviewed, and when a kid asks a question things aren't where they ought to be." Time is seen as a negative factor when questions about daily life in the schools are raised. Public school teachers work under conditions that largely constrain their time during the school year. Most are place-bound during a work day, have little or no ability to choose time off, work on schedules outside their control, and have responsibilities outside the school day during the academic year. Half of the teachers and former teachers interviewed had heavy extracurricular assignments, and only eight had no responsibilities outside the classroom. Though 35 of the respondents identified themselves as being at school eight or nine hours a day, the other 15 said they were in the building ten or more hours five days a week. The mean number of hours per week put in on school-related work outside the school day was 7.4. Only three respondents reported spending no time outside of the school day on school activities.

The third set of issues related to the daily work of teaching dealt with support from inside the system, a category we have called "administrative support." Administrative support was

generally mentioned as a negative factor with responses which related to it occurring in answer to questions about frustrations in the last year of teaching and unpleasant aspects of the job. The following answers by a teacher in response to the question about what makes the work unpleasant was typical: "Lack of recognition for a job well done, lack of understanding for what I was doing by the administration; in eight years two administrators spent one hour and 20 minutes in my class." Administrative support can make teaching life bad in its absence, but it was rarely seen as positive when present. The administrators who were interviewed agreed that they needed to give more attention to administrative support. One suggested, however, that he wanted the same kind of support in return from the teachers.

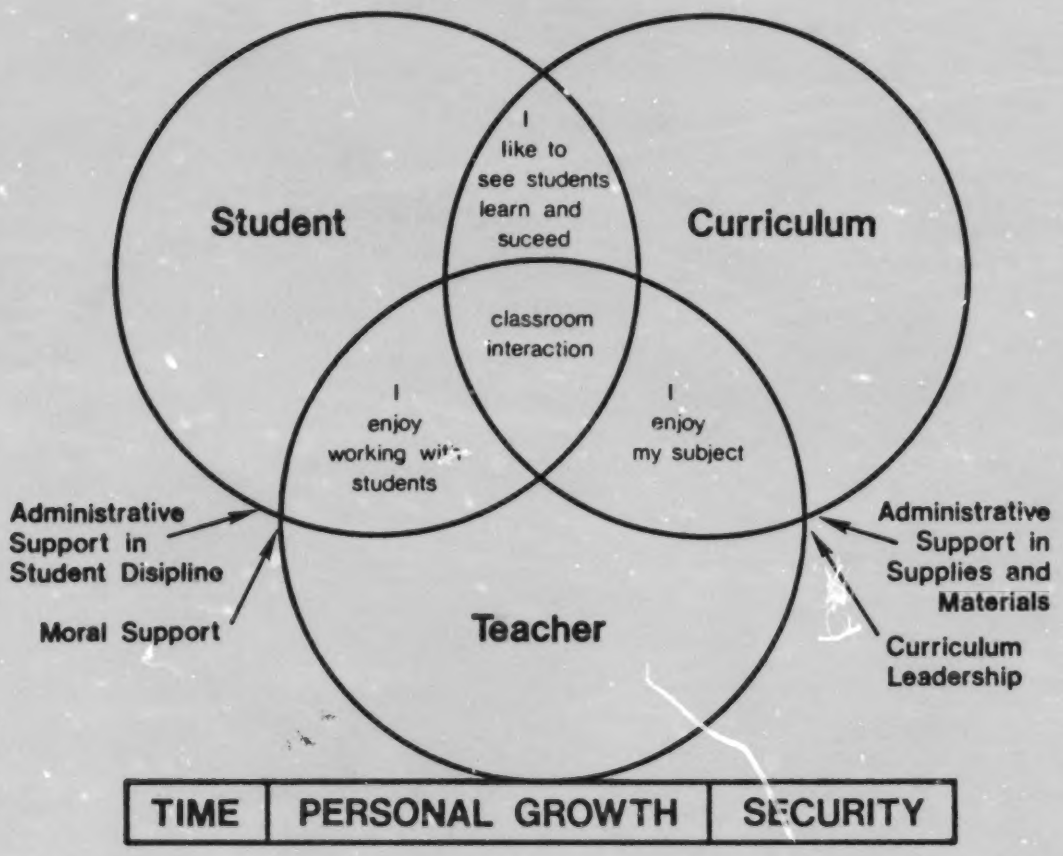
In order to understand what kinds of administrative support teachers want, responses to a question about the help that principals should and do provide (question 46) were analyzed. The most frequently mentioned kind of support was help with discipline. Teachers and former teachers wanted "back-up on discipline," "one-hundred percent backing," "support in discipline problems," and "consistency in dealing with students." While most administrators interviewed agreed that administrators need to support teachers, even when teachers are wrong, some felt that teachers need to be responsible for their own errors in judgments. The general feeling, however, is that such problems should be resolved privately between the teacher and the administrator.

Second, respondents wanted support with instruction. They wanted principals to be willing to understand subject matter, to influence decision making in subject areas, to have exposure to classrooms, and to develop understanding of what teachers are trying to do. Respondents wanted support in terms of supplies and materials. They also wanted moral support from principals. They wanted the principals to "pump teachers up," to build self-confidence and feelings of self-worth, and to be "tuned in" to teachers' personal needs. In other words, respondents saw the support of the principal and assistant principal as impacting on the teacher-student-curriculum interaction at several points. The administrators agreed that these were realistic expectations, that principals, superintendents, and boards should be more supportive of excellence. In Figure 3 these points of impact are indicated graphically.

Finally, we asked respondents about changes in the school organization or system they thought would be helpful. Two questions on the interview schedule were relevant. One (question 28) asked for ways the system could be changed to make it possible for teachers to spend more time with groups identified in a previous question. The second (question 36) asked respondents to suggest changes that would make it more possible for them to accomplish what they feel teachers should most try to do. Analysis of the responses indicated that both teachers and former teachers largely accept the system as given. In reply to the time question, respondents talked about minor changes which would result in some reallocation of time such

Figure 3

ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT OF CLASSROOM INTERACTION



as reduced number of preparations and relief from study halls, but did not propose major changes in the structure of the school. Answers to the more global question about what changes would make it easier to do teachers' work produced a limited and rather standard list of complaints and suggestions such as more preparation time, smaller classes, and more administrative support. Most suggestions were external to the classroom and the individual teacher and were patches and repairs which would keep the basic system intact. Though there was concern about quality of teaching from both teachers and former teachers, little concern for collective action to improve the academic environment was expressed, and there were few indications that respondents had given serious thought to how the system might be changed.

While many of the changes proposed by the administrators were similar to the teachers', such as the sensitive and considerate treatment of people and reinforcement of a positive working environment, they were less inclined to accept the system as is. They recognized the inhibitions to differential rewards imposed by the collective bargaining agreement. They also mentioned that professional growth could be stimulated through sabbaticals, career exploration leaves, pay for credits and inservice training, and structural changes such as differentiated staffing arrangements.

Continuance Factors

To address the issue of continuance in the profession, questions were asked which directed respondents to choose factors

which they considered important about a job in teaching and to compare teaching with other jobs. We also asked respondents why teachers with ten or more years of experience stay in the profession and why successful teachers with five or more years of experience leave (questions 55 and 56). We asked teachers whether they expect to be teaching five and ten years from now, and we asked former teachers whether they ever expect to go back to teaching.

When respondents were asked to choose from a list of eight items the three aspects of a job in teaching they would consider most important if they were to change from one school district to another or consider returning to teaching (question 57 in the interview schedules), a personal concern and two factors related to the job itself emerged as most important. The most heavily weighted factor was geographic location, the first choice of 14 respondents and a factor unrelated to the nature of the job itself. Professional freedom and course assignment were also chosen as important factors. Money, administrative support, and the nature of the student body fell into a second group of lesser importance. Ranked as relatively unimportant factors were professional status and facilities, though 14 respondents listed facilities among their top three choices, perhaps because facilities are more likely to vary from one school district to another than professional status.

When respondents were asked to compare teaching with other occupations (questions 52 and 53), some interesting anomalies emerged. The most frequently mentioned advantage to teaching was opportunities

for personal growth. For example, teachers and former teachers cited as an advantage of teaching that one can continue to be a learner. They talked about the ability to be creative on the job and the high degree of personal satisfaction they felt from their work with students. However, limitations on personal growth were the second most frequently mentioned disadvantage of teaching. A former English teacher said, "After leaving teaching I found ability and creativity in me that I had never tapped." A home economics teacher said she felt teaching limited her creativity by requirements that she meet students every day in the same place and at the same time. Other respondents talked about teaching as a dead end career.

Similarly, the third most frequently mentioned advantage of the job was time and schedule considerations, but this was also the most frequently cited disadvantage. Respondents who focused on the advantages mentioned summer vacations, convenient professional hours, and time schedules which could accommodate family responsibilities and outside interests. Respondents who saw the disadvantages noted lack of control over time within the school day, responsibilities that impinged on weekends and evenings, and lack of enough time to do an adequate job.

Working with students, or students and subject matter, was the second most frequently mentioned advantage to teaching. A teacher of over 30 years' experience described the "satisfaction of knowing that I tried to make someone else better today than yesterday [and to] make tomorrow better for him because he worked today."

Teachers talked about their jobs as important, as affecting students' lives and even the world. Few respondents mentioned working with students as a disadvantage of the job. Relations with students were seemingly seen as a gain with little potential for loss. It has been noted above that discipline problems can be viewed as the negative aspect of working with students, but that response did not occur in answer to the question about disadvantages of the job, perhaps because such problems are viewed as malfunctions in the school system rather than intrinsic parts of the job. It is worth noting that another possible negative aspect of working with students did not occur in the answers of any respondents. No teacher or former teacher mentioned as a disadvantage of teaching the fact that teachers work closely with adolescents rather than with adults.

By far the most frequent response to the question about why people stay in teaching was that they stay for security. The word security appears in the answers of 33 respondents. Teachers and former teachers did not differ in the extent to which they saw this as the reason for staying. The next most frequent responses, which each appeared less than half as often as security, were that teachers enjoy working with students and that the time schedule is attractive. It is interesting to juxtapose the answers to this question about why others stay with the answers to the question addressed to current teachers about why they themselves plan to stay. Security was not even a consideration except indirectly for those teachers close to retirement. Instead, teachers said they

will stay because they enjoy the job and relationships with students. A teacher with over 30 years' experience said she enjoys mingling with students, joking with students, and students' senses of humor. Students keep teachers young and "with it." Teachers enjoy seeing students succeed in school and after they graduate. Several teachers mentioned that they plan to stay in teaching because it permits them to do things outside the classroom and the school that are important to them. Family commitments were the most frequently mentioned outside consideration, but several teachers mentioned other interests. Teachers and former teachers did not differ in terms of the reasons they suggested for other people staying in the profession. Reasons suggested for why others stay did differ from reasons advanced to support personal choices of teachers who intend to stay in teaching.

Teachers differed from former teachers in their explanations of why successful teachers leave. Most respondents suggested that people leave because of money, but only half of the former teachers and nearly all of the current teachers advanced this as the reason. Only a few former teachers described money as an important factor in their personal decisions to leave, and several explicitly noted that money was not the reason, even though most were making more money in their current jobs, some substantially more. Several current teachers suggested that others left because they could not cope with students or the system. Two teachers, one with over 20 years' experience and another with 15 years' experience, and one

administrator could not recall a successful teacher who had left, only some who had left the classroom and gone into administration. As one of the teachers said, "They've either retired or weren't suited to it." Teachers also described former teachers as not having found what they expected in the profession. Some talked about dashed idealism and different dreams or people who were more aggressive and competitive and less willing to give.

Though former teachers rated themselves somewhat less successful than current teachers (90 percent of the current teachers rated themselves as 1 or 2 on a 5-point scale, with 1 being high; and 70 percent of the former teachers rated themselves similarly), former teachers did not describe themselves as unsuccessful teachers. When they talked about coping, it was unwillingness to cope that was the issue, not inability to cope. Several former teachers talked about the frustrations of dealing with unsupportive administrators or unhappy colleagues. Some did not like the confrontations with students or parents and administrators over discipline. Some simply tired of dealing with the problems. Former teachers saw themselves as seeking broader horizons, looking for opportunities to use more of their abilities, or seeking work in systems which rewarded meritorious service. A former teacher who is now in sales said he would not go back to teaching because there are "more opportunities for me than in teaching; I would only do it if I wanted to slow my lifestyle down." A woman who said she might have stayed in teaching

if she had been married or had had dependents said, "I thought I needed to do more than be a drone in a classroom." Former teachers generally indicated that they did not dislike teaching. In response to a question about overall satisfaction with the job, 75 percent of the former teachers indicated as much or more satisfaction than dissatisfaction with teaching, compared to 90 percent of the current teachers. Many of those who left talked about a magical quality of teaching and described themselves as missing it, particularly the interactions with students, more than they thought they would. Several continue to work in service occupations. But most would not go back to teaching except part-time, in nonpublic schools, or as a way to ease into retirement. Thus, while some current teachers saw those who have left the profession as unsuccessful teachers, former teachers did not view themselves that way. Instead, they generally talked about personal needs that teaching, much as they liked it, could not fulfill.

When asked about the most important reason why teachers left, the administrators listed four main areas: (1) money; (2) a need for new challenges, careers, or other opportunities for professional growth; (3) frustrations with the structure, support, or the occupation itself; and (4) personal issues peripheral to the job, such as transfer of a spouse or an inappropriate social environment for young teachers.

While most administrators felt that there was no systematic distinction between the teacher and former teacher groups, some

suggested that the former teachers tended to be more independent, self-confident, upwardly mobile, and younger with few roots in the community. Some suggested that many former teachers had significant part-time jobs outside of school which led to their new occupations. Administrators suggested that while both teachers and former teachers found satisfactions in students and were good teachers, the personal needs of former teachers were for greater challenges that they could no longer get from teaching. Some could no longer handle the frustrations and structural constraints which those who stayed accept as part of the job.

Some administrators said that while they would have liked to have had most former teachers stay, they did not discourage them from leaving. Many acknowledged that, short of dismantling the present salary structure, there were few differential rewards they could have used to dissuade those who left. Most of the incentives that they mentioned related to improving the professional educational environment through greater administrative support and by providing greater freedom, public recognition for excellence, and rewards for individual contributions such as better schedules, expanded department responsibilities, modified positions, differentiated staffing, and other job enrichment ideas. They concluded that the present system limits differential rewards for excellent performance and that there is a dire need to provide incentives for veteran teachers.

In this chapter we summarized the research findings by describing the factors important in entry into the occupation,

maintenance in the day-to-day work of teaching, and continuance or exit from classroom teaching. Several themes were used in discussing these issues. The significance of the findings will be developed in the chapter which follows.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Five questions controlled this research from its inception. The findings from the research will be discussed in reference to these questions, with some modifications in the variables of interest. From the data collected several incentives which are available to secondary public school teachers were identified. The data did not permit an answer to the question about whether these incentives change over time. With a few exceptions, differences in incentives were not found among respondents with differing years of experience in teaching. We cannot conclude from this, however, that incentives do not vary in efficacy for particular individuals over the length of a teaching career.

Neither do the findings permit drawing conclusions about teachers' allocations of time and energy. Questions in the interview schedules which dealt with allocations of time were difficult for respondents to answer, and the results could not be clearly analyzed. Some teachers, for example, reported long days at school and little time spent on school activities once they left the school building. Others reported relatively short working days but many weekend and evening hours spent on school-related activities. Most teachers fell between these two extremes, but it was impossible to sort out neat categories for analysis. Moreover, teachers answered the

questions about their allocations of time to avocational interests in a variety of ways, some reporting family activities as a separate category and some incorporating them into other categories. Instead of looking at specific allocations of time and energy, we analyzed incentives in terms of whether they are likely to encourage teachers' work with students and the curriculum, a cruder analysis than we originally proposed.

We can analyze whether available incentives are inside or outside the control of the organization. We expected to find differences between teachers and former teachers which would help us understand the efficacy of incentives; the differences that were found have been noted in the findings and will be examined in the conclusions. It now seems useful to examine whether available incentives accrue to all by virtue of organizational membership or whether they can be differentially allocated to reward individual performance. As we draw conclusions from the findings, then, the following questions will be controlling the analysis:

1. What are the incentives that are available to public school teachers?
2. Can they be differentially allocated to reward individual performance?
3. Are they useful in supporting teachers' work with students and the curriculum?
4. Are these incentives within or outside the control of the organization?
5. Is there a difference in the efficacy of the identified incentives between successful teachers who remain in the classroom and successful teachers who left classroom teaching?

Conclusions Related to Incentives

The major question addressed in this study was the degree to which organizational incentives in secondary school teaching result in maintaining in the profession teachers who are committed--whose primary satisfactions or reasons for staying in the profession are related to students, curriculum content, and classroom procedures.

Katz and Kahn (1978) called for a better, more comprehensive framework for predicting the effectiveness of organizations that would take into account required behavior, the different motivational patterns (incentives) that can evoke that behavior, and the organizational conditions that elicit these motivational patterns. They listed three categories of requisite behavior--join and remain in the organization; perform dependably the assigned role(s); and engage in occasional innovative and cooperative behavior beyond the requirements of the role, but in service to the organizational objectives. Motivational patterns include legal compliance or rule enforcement, instrumental or external rewards, and intrinsic motivation. Organization members obey rules because the rules are legitimate or backed by penalties or threat of penalties. External rewards include system rewards, individual rewards, approval from the leader, and approval from peers. Internalized motivation includes intrinsic job satisfaction, internalization of organizational goals, and group cohesiveness.

We used the Katz and Kahn typology to categorize the major incentives identified by our respondents. The overall configuration is illustrated in Figure 4, which specifies the three major motivational

LEGAL COMPLIANCE/RULE ENFORCEMENT			
Not identified			
EXTERNAL REWARDS			
SYSTEM REWARDS	INDIVIDUAL REWARDS	LEADER SUPPORT	PEER SUPPORT
-Salary and Fringes -Security -Time for outside activities	-Other professional income -Autonomy in classroom -Leave of absence -Differentiated staffing -Facilities, equipment, supplies	-Administrator support -Community support	-Respect -Collegial relations
INTERNALIZED MOTIVATION			
INTRINSIC JOB SATISFACTION	INTERNALIZE ORGANIZATION GOALS	SHARED PSYCHOLOGICAL FIELDS/ GROUP COHESIVENESS	
-I enjoy working with kids -Working in area of my interest -Personal growth	-Satisfaction in serving others -Belief in what I am doing	-Status as a professional	

Figure 4. Typology of Incentives for Secondary Public School Teachers.*

*This typology is an adaptation from Katz and Kahn (1978).

patterns and their respective subcategories. Within each subcategory we placed the most important incentives identified by our respondents in the interviews as reasons for entry, maintenance, and continuance in the profession. Then we addressed three of our research questions to the incentives in each category. First, are these incentives inside or outside the control of the organization? Second, can they be differentially allocated by the organization? Third, are the incentives directly related to performance in the classroom?

Legal compliance is clearly within the prerogatives of the organization, although enforcement of penalties often requires extensive formal documentation. Rules can also be differentially enforced and can be unrelated to classroom performance. Used by itself as an incentive, legal compliance tends to produce performance at a minimum acceptable level and will not induce teachers to remain in the organization if alternatives exist. This motivational pattern was not identified in this study because we originally asked administrators to select only successful teachers, and, consequently, we only interviewed teachers who were essentially compliant. Rule enforcement may be useful to police marginal performers or to orient novices, but it is not likely to enhance performance by successful teachers. Acceptance of the "rules" was further reinforced by the fact that almost no teachers or former teachers questioned the legitimacy of the present system.

Extrinsic rewards are by definition within the control of the organization. Systems rewards are not differentially allocatable

and not necessarily related to performance in the classroom. Many of the former teachers and some of the present teachers registered a concern about the relationship between the undifferentiated nature of systems rewards and differential performance in the classroom. They indicated that lock-step salary schedules provide the same rewards for excellent and poor performance. Individual rewards, the second type of extrinsic reward, can be differentially allocated to acknowledge excellent performance in the classroom although incentives such as leaves of absence, department chairs and other differentiated staffing arrangements might have some system contingencies. For example, seniority rather than performance may determine the recipient. Leader support can also be differentially allocated and related to performance. In spite of some restrictions, individual rewards and leader support represent the organization's most powerful options for rewarding excellent performance. The final extrinsic reward, peer approval, is vested in the informal system and, although differentially allocated, depends upon the congruence of the informal norms and institutional goals. To the extent that informal norms support excellence in instruction, peer support has considerable influence as an incentive, though it is outside the control of the organization.

Intrinsic motivation is tied directly to performance and has the greatest potential to support excellence. While possibly influenced by extrinsic rewards, intrinsic motivators are by definition outside the control of the organization and differentially allocated.

Many of our respondents referred to super teachers who perform beyond the expectations of the organization and find their major satisfactions in their students, their subject, their mission, and their profession. These are teachers who are strongly influenced by internalized motivators.

The major conclusion reached from this analysis is that there are few incentives that are within the control of the organization, that can be differentially allocated, and that can be used to affect performance directly. Intrinsic motivation, although outside the direct control of the organization, is the most powerful link to performance.

Schools can best increase the likelihood that successful teachers will join and remain in the organization, perform their assigned roles dependably, and occasionally perform innovative and cooperative acts beyond the requirements of the role but in service to school objectives by using external rewards, specifically individual rewards and leader support, to create a school environment where the intrinsically motivated professional can pursue excellence.

The typology of incentives described in the previous section summarizes the variety of rewards available to secondary school teachers. As useful as such a condensation of incentives is, the impact of these incentives on the attitudes and work performance of teachers is much more complicated in terms of administration and much richer in possibilities than is suggested in Figure 4. Many of the incentives listed above are not necessarily uniformly distributed or equally valued.

Rewards by their very nature are integrally tied to individual value systems. Thus, various categories of incentives have differential effects on individuals within an organization. Herzberg (1966) and Heath (1981) described rewards in terms of dualities for job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Similarly, our findings revealed that organizational incentives can have positive, neutral, or negative impact on teachers. Our conclusions concerning the issues of working with students and student achievement and learning, monetary compensation, time autonomy, and administrative support lend themselves to an analysis of the differential effects.

Working with students and sharing the experience of student learning were seen as key rewards by the teachers we interviewed. The issues raised with respect to working with students ranged on a continuum from very positive to negative. Disciplinary problems, generally outside the classroom, student apathy, and student insensitivity toward others were seen as negative factors. Student successes in learning activities were positive psychic rewards for teachers. However, the absence of student learning and success was neither cited nor considered a negative factor. Since teachers did not pin their hopes on student gains, the absence of this positive psychic reward was not perceived negatively but took on a neutral quality.

Though the literature and the mass media suggest a largely disgruntled group of underpaid professionals who are dominated by monetary motives, our findings do not support this assertion about

teachers. Respondents typically did not cite salary and fringe benefits as major sources of job satisfaction but neither were teachers dissatisfied with their total income. That money to teachers in our study was of secondary importance in terms of job satisfaction and career plans is evidenced by the fact that teachers subordinated salary and fringe benefits to other considerations: geographic location, professional freedom, and course assignments. All of this suggests that teachers are clearly willing to accept less money as a trade-off with other incentives related to teaching. The neutral effect of monetary compensation is in a sense a point of equilibrium between satisfaction and dissatisfaction. The scale does not appear to tip in either direction based solely on the issue of salary and fringe benefits.

The time-autonomy issue focuses on the amount of freedom a teacher has in determining the use of time. Our findings support the notion that this incentive as it relates to the job of teaching has both positive and negative effects on teachers. Time-autonomy in terms of the work year was described as a reward. Due to school-year vacations and summer months off, teachers are free to commit time to other life activities while matching such commitments with their jobs. This incentive is jealously guarded by teachers.

Time and autonomy within the workday are, however, greatly restricted and have negative implications. Teachers are committed to a rather inflexible schedule during the workday, generally eight hours. This allows teachers little, if any, freedom to reorganize

or plan their own work routine. Yet, within this time frame teachers have nearly complete autonomy in the classroom. They are in control of the schedule, pace, and content within a given class period.

The support of administrators for teachers and the job they do is seen as a maintenance condition on a continuum from neutral to negative. Rarely did teachers mention administrative support as a major satisfaction or reward in their job. However, the absence of administrative support, whether it be in discipline, in morale, or in program support through supplies and materials, is identified as a key dysfunction and a major source of teacher frustration and job dissatisfaction.

As was noted above, internalized motivation is the most powerful link between rewards and performance. A key issue in internalized motivation is teacher personal growth and its partnership with the ethic of serving others. Teaching provides the unique combination of service to others and the occupational opportunity to continue to study, perform, create, and grow in an area of personal interest. Though the service aspect of teaching is an important intrinsic reward, it is limited in that "service to others" must be tempered by the realities of "service to self." If serving others is supportive of a teacher's own need for personal and professional growth, personal growth is a powerful incentive for excellent performance in the classroom. However, if personal growth is limited, stifled, or simply not available while one is serving others, it becomes a negative factor which contributes to job dissatisfaction

and personal frustration. As our findings have indicated, the ability to meet one's personal needs through opportunities for growth is the key incentive which relates to maintaining successful teachers in the profession, and, as Katz and Kahn (1978) indicated, it provides for teachers who join and stay in the organization, who perform dependably, and who occasionally engage in spontaneous innovative behaviors beyond the contractual requirements of the job.

A second key issue in internalized motivation can be called "collective consciousness." Both Lortie (1975) and Katz and Kahn (1978) identified shared values in an occupational group as a prime source of intrinsic motivation. Our findings do not support the notion of a collective consciousness among respondents. A sense of group cohesiveness was not evident; a "me-they" mentality was. This mentality is evidenced in collective bargaining concerns, in conflicting perceptions of why teachers stay in or leave teaching, and in the lack of engagement in professional organizations and continuing education courses.

Collective bargaining units represent each of the professional teacher groups from which our subjects were sampled. Yet, surprisingly, little mention was made of the local association. Perhaps this bargaining agent has assumed the collective concerns of teachers. However, that was not evidenced in the interviews. Though union activities were not major professional commitments for the teachers interviewed, collective bargaining agreements and legislation have had the effect of placing educators--teachers and

administrators--in conflicting positions which are expressed in a "we-they" view of the school collective. Rather than focusing on issues which would unite educators, teachers and administrators have been forced into adversarial positions.

A "me-they" response to various questions also illustrated the lack of professional cohesiveness among teachers. Answers to questions about reasons for staying in the profession clearly indicated the "me-they" configuration. Responses to these questions often took the following form: "I stay because of these reasons, but others remain in teaching for quite different reasons." Typically, respondents separated themselves from their peers saying that they stayed because of professional ideals and personal rewards, whereas others stayed for security, money, and summer vacations. Teachers also chose to differentiate themselves from former teachers. Though our findings showed few differences between teachers and former teachers, many teachers' perceptions indicated a dichotomy--for example, "we are successful, but they just couldn't handle the stresses."

Our findings also indicated little professional involvement and collective engagement in activities outside the school setting. While most respondents said they had taken courses beyond their last degree, very few were currently enrolled in continuing professional education. Only a few respondents were actively involved in professional societies or organizations at a state or national level.

Lortie (1975) cited isolation as an occupational problem because teachers spend little time with other adults. Such individual isolation would indeed be the antithesis of a collective consciousness among teachers. However, most teachers and former teachers said they did not feel isolated. Isolation was not viewed as a given in the job but was seen as an individual problem if it occurred. Most teachers believed there were ample opportunities to interact and be with other adults during the workday. Yet this satisfaction in terms of time spent in interaction with their peers and other adults during their workday did not lead to a sense of collective consciousness. Teachers did not feel isolated and lonely, but neither did they strongly identify themselves as a part of a cohesive whole. Thus, while our findings reveal lack of collective consciousness, this lack is not so extreme as to result in a feeling of personal isolation.

Conclusions Related to Teacher Professional Life

This study was designed to investigate incentive systems in public school teaching. However, other conclusions can be drawn from the findings, conclusions which relate more to the nature of the profession than to incentives for secondary school teachers. In his analysis of teaching as an occupation, Lortie (1975) identified three significant components in the ethos of American classroom teachers: "conservatism," "individualism," and "presentism" (pp. 207-213). These components provide useful themes for examining the ancillary conclusions which follow.

First, teachers and former teachers do appear to be conservative in their orientation to schools. This was particularly evident in the suggestions for change that teachers and former teachers made. Most accepted the system as given and suggested patch-and-repair approaches to change. Though administrators were willing to suggest more radical changes than teachers, few of their suggestions involved restructuring the system as given. Schools in the districts in the study continue to operate in very traditional ways, and respondents made few suggestions that would change the basic approaches used in schools.

Second, evidence of individualism appeared in the study. The lack of collective consciousness among teachers was described above. This lack is an extension of individualism in the professions. Respondents in the study did not talk about issues commonly raised in professional literature. Buzz words such as "burnout," "competency based education," or "basic skills" did not appear. No teacher expressed alarm or delight at pressures for accountability. It was as if these major concerns in the literature had left our respondents untouched. Individualism was also seen in the variety of ways that teachers chose to allocate their energies. Though the entrepreneurs that Cusick (1981) described were not evident in the respondents we interviewed, we did find teachers who invested extraordinary time and energy in the job and those who put minimal time and energy into teaching while making major investments elsewhere. One administrator suggested that teachers who do not have important interests outside

the classroom have less to offer students and colleagues. Teaching by itself, he said, is not enough. However, major investments outside of teaching inevitably result in some compromises with teaching. Teachers with outside commitments are less likely to become or stay involved in extracurricular activities or to accept major responsibilities, are likely to resist or avoid changes in the curriculum that would involve new preparations or increased preparation time, and are likely to structure their work to provide for maximum autonomy. Major commitments outside the school encourage conservatism, individualism, and a narrow definition of the job so that it does not interfere with these other commitments and interests. Finally, evidence of individualism emerged from the interviews with former teachers. In general they viewed their exits from the profession as personal choices unrelated to factors endemic to the profession or the nature of schools as workplaces. Many of them described themselves as having stagnated in teaching, but they did not seem to view teaching as intrinsically stagnating, that is, limited in the kinds of challenges it can provide to adults who work with adolescents who are forever 15 to 18 years old.

Third, our findings support the orientation of teachers toward the present. Though most of our respondents could contrast their first years of teaching with their last and could describe how they felt about aspects of the profession at the time of the interviews, few had a sense of stages or phases they had gone through in the time they had been teachers. Few talked about changing

concerns or shifts in time investments, though in several cases those changes and shifts were implicit in other responses. Historical sense was absent, as was a concern about where they might go in the future. We heard little concern about the future of the schools, about the impact of changing economic conditions and declining enrollments in education, or about the impact of technology. Most teachers seemed settled into a job they expected to continue in pretty much the same way for as long as it was likely to be of interest to them. We also found support for Lortie's (1975) assertion that teaching is a relatively careerless occupation. With the exception of a few team leaders and department heads, we found little evidence of a career hierarchy in public secondary school teaching. Respondents did not see a move into administration as a step up. Those teachers who talked about moving up talked about moving out of teaching. All of this is support for the present orientation of teachers.

Conclusions Related to Research Methodology

Some observations about the limitations of our methodology also are relevant. We found four major limitations to the approach we used. First, time was a serious constraint. We knew that we could only interview in the schools if we could complete the interview within an ordinary class period. In part because we scheduled the interviews conveniently for teachers, we found almost no reluctance to participate in the study. However, the limited time frame

restricted the degree to which we could probe or clarify particular responses. As a result, some responses were superficial or unclear. It may be the case, for example, that respondents could have described career stages if only we had taken the time to ask a series of probing questions.

Second, time limitations prevented us from addressing some issues we have later come to feel are relevant. Community support is one such issue. We learned little about teachers' perceptions of actual or desired levels of community support, but we suspect that this is an important consideration in an occupation which depends so heavily on internal motivation.

Third, in planning the study we had decided that we would limit our questions to respondents' professional lives. Issues such as marital status or shifts in marital status, satisfactions with personal life, and personal value systems were dealt with incidentally if at all in the interviews. Yet, as some respondents pointed out, personal issues not directly related to teaching had major impacts on their professional careers. We suspect that many teachers opt to leave or remain in the profession for reasons more related to personal issues such as marriage, divorce, or child rearing than aspects of the profession, but because we did not collect autobiographical data, we cannot address these issues.

Finally, our design was cross-sectional rather than longitudinal. We are not convinced that cross-sectional studies have little value in the study of change over time; we only know that

our study did not yield all of the information we sought. Perhaps a larger sample and more autobiographical data would have given us more information related to longitudinal changes.

Implications for Practice

Our findings and conclusions indicate that the most powerful motivational forces which attract, maintain, and keep successful teachers in the classroom are a complex of intrinsic rewards which come together in the ideal occupational combination of working with students, seeing students learn and succeed, believing one's job in service to others is valuable, and being able to continue growing personally and professionally. Implications for practice will be presented from the perspectives of school administrators, collective bargaining groups and professional societies, and the community which supports the educational system.

Though intrinsic rewards remain outside the direct control of the organization, this is not to say school administrators are impotent with respect to their influence on these internalized rewards for teachers. One of the classical functions of administration is that of managing staff personnel. Much of this task necessarily implies influencing the attitudes and behaviors of employees within an organization. Given this function and the limited parameters for control over intrinsic rewards, administrators must seek to exert their influence by fostering favorable environments in which employees are encouraged to be internally motivated and to internalize the organization's major goals.

Administrators can provide support in student discipline problems, in curriculum leadership, in morale, and in supplies and materials for learning activities. Administrators can use and encourage differentiation in staffing and responsibilities for teachers. Identifying team leaders, chairpersons, or master teachers is a way of challenging and tapping personal resources which teachers routinely are not required to use. Job enrichment is also within the prerogatives of school administrators. Within the basic structure of the system, administrators can provide for expanding areas of responsibility, broadening of programs, development of meaningful inservice, attendance at professional meetings, and time for faculty to plan and create.

Though such favorable conditions by no means assure internalized motivations, it is clear that without a favorable environment in which the effects of intrinsic rewards for individuals can flourish, administrators would be virtually powerless in maintaining a high level of morale and excellent performance of teachers in the organization.

Administrators must also face the reality of a "me-they" mentality and provide a system for open exchange and cooperation despite the constraints of collective bargaining agreements. Agreement and cooperation do not mean abdication of management prerogatives, but they do imply a concerted effort to replace the adversarial model of administrator-teacher relations with one which seeks to unify around the common goals of service to students and shared psychological fields.

Professional associations need to recognize that job satisfaction and the occupational well-being of teachers are not provided by quick fixes and external rewards which most commonly focus on wages, hours, and conditions of employment. Bargaining agents that focus only on external rewards available to all are failing to see the key motivations for classroom teachers. It is interesting to note that neither collective bargaining groups nor professional societies commanded much of our respondents' time and energies. Certainly these groups have contributed to important maintenance factors in a teacher's work life, but our findings point out intrinsic rewards are much more powerful to individual members. If collective bargaining groups and professional organizations have a commitment to maintaining successful teachers in the profession, they must begin to broaden their perception of the needs of teachers. Failure to recognize the importance of intrinsic motivations, which make teaching for many a calling, results in a myopic understanding of the profession. Collective bargaining groups and professional organizations must work to forge a renewed collective consciousness among members. The "me-they" mentality must give way to an attitude of professional cohesiveness and shared psychological and professional goals.

The community which supports its local schools needs to realize that support means more than perfunctory approval of an annual tax levy. Though certain financial concerns must be maintained, teachers need moral support and backing which reinforce key

incentives in teaching. Work with students can easily become a negative factor if student discipline and apathy are accepted or ignored by the community. Personal growth, service to others, and belief in the value of one's job are also key intrinsic rewards that must be fostered, nurtured, and ultimately obtained through the community. As our analysis indicates, these are not frills, extras, or trade-off items. These incentives are central to a teacher's sense of occupational well-being and individual job satisfaction.

Finally, our respondents did not offer many alternatives to existing school structures and reward systems. Rather, the current structures and incentives were accepted as givens by both teachers and administrators. There is a need for administrators, collective bargaining groups, professional societies, and community groups to examine the efficacy of these structures and to propose, implement, and support creative options which will lead to improved performance in the classroom.

Implications for Future Research

Implications for future research can also be drawn from this study. First, there is a need for more research in this area. The theoretical framework for analyzing organizations as incentive-distribution systems is rich in research possibilities. The conclusions drawn from this study about secondary public schools need to be refined and tested with other secondary public school teachers and with other groups. In particular, we see the need for validation

of our preliminary findings about the efficacy of the incentives identified and a need to refine the notion of incentives as having varying potential to create job satisfaction and job engagement. Second, there is a need for research on the career patterns of public school teachers and the implications of these patterns of organizational effectiveness. Recent work in developmental psychology has suggested a theoretical framework from which questions about adult transitions and career changes can be addressed (see, for example, Gould, 1978; and Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978). Some researchers have begun to examine the careers of post secondary academics from this framework (Baldwin & Blackburn, 1979; Blackburn & Havighurst, 1978). Similar work should be done with public school teachers. Though our findings indicated few differences between men and women in reference to career concerns, we suspect that researchers who look at adult development and careers or who include in their research the issues of personal life which this study deliberately excluded will have to address whether career patterns are the same for both men and women.

A Summary Statement

Public secondary school teachers are largely dedicated professionals who enter their occupation with a strong commitment to service. That this commitment is not enough to sustain the work of most teachers through a lifetime is probably not surprising but has important implications for the nature of schools. In 1967

J. M. Stephens suggested that society consigns to schools those functions that it does not deem important enough to concern institutions like the family and the workplace, while giving lip service to the importance of education. Stephens observed that the teachers have received pats on the back and few concrete rewards as a result of the ambivalence of society about the importance of schools. In the past two decades the rise of collective bargaining has brought an increase in the monetary rewards and concrete benefits available to school teachers and, one could argue, a corresponding decline in such personal rewards as prestige and moral support. But, as this study has pointed out, external rewards are not enough to sustain in the profession teachers who are committed to children and curriculum. Incentives currently in use in public schools have limited potential for affecting teacher performance, but they have some potential. These incentives need to be used to the fullest extent possible. Moreover, schools could easily incorporate other extrinsic rewards that currently are not being used extensively. But most important, groups concerned about the public schools need to address the issue of how the most powerful motivators of performance, intrinsic rewards and individual commitments to the profession and job satisfaction directly related to students and curriculum, can be tapped to enhance education in the public schools. Educational research such as that reported in this study can guide theoreticians and practitioners as they address questions regarding how that might best be done.

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APPENDIX A

LETTER TO RESPONDENTS

WISCONSIN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT CENTER
FOR INDIVIDUALIZED SCHOOLING

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN · MADISON · SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
1025 W Johnson Street · Madison, Wisconsin 53706 · (608) 263-4200

September 24, 1981

We are asking your participation in a research study conducted through the University of Wisconsin-Madison Research and Development Center for Individualized Schooling and funded through a grant from the National Institute of Education. The study seeks to identify the incentives which are available to secondary public school teachers and the relationship between those incentives and teachers' commitments to teaching.

Data for the study will be gathered through 45-minute interviews with 50 current and former secondary school teachers from eight school districts in the geographical area surrounding Madison, Wisconsin. Interviews will be conducted in places and at times convenient to the participants by three project associates: Marvin J. Fruth, Professor in the Department of Educational Administration, and Kathe Kasten and Paul Bredeson, graduate students in the department. Interviews will be scheduled between October 1 and October 15.

Your name has been randomly selected from teachers in your school. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, of course; but we hope that you will agree to be interviewed. The enclosed Informed Consent Form contains more details about the study and the guarantees to your anonymity as a participant.

One of us will call you during the week of September 28 to discuss your participation and to schedule an interview. We hope that you will be willing to help with this research, and we look forward to meeting with you in the near future.

Sincerely,

Marvin J. Fruth, Professor
Department of Educational Administration

MJF/eb

Enclosure

APPENDIX B

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

WISCONSIN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT CENTER
FOR INDIVIDUALIZED SCHOOLING

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN · MADISON · SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
1025 W. Johnson Street · Madison, Wisconsin 53706 · (608) 263-4200

Research Study

Commitment to Teaching: An Analysis of Teachers' Responses to Organizational Incentives

Informed Consent Form

The study in which you are participating seeks to identify the incentives available to secondary public school teachers and to analyze those incentives in terms of their effects on teachers' commitments to teaching. Data will be gathered through structured interviews with 30 successful secondary teachers with varying levels of experience and with 20 former secondary teachers who left teaching after at least two years of successful experience. Administrators from the districts participating in the study will also be interviewed.

The anonymity of all participants is guaranteed and no individual, school, or school district will be identified in any reports of the research. It is expected that the results of this research will have both theoretical and practical value to the field of education and to the public at large.

A summary of the study's findings will be available to all participants. Copies of the complete technical report will be available to all participating districts.

The University of Wisconsin-Madison has formally assured the National Institute of Education (NIE) that it will assure the protection of any human being in any projects or programs that it supports.

Any questions you may have concerning the procedures to be utilized in this study will be answered. You are free to withdraw your consent and to discontinue participation in this study at any time.

Please sign below to indicate your consent to participate in the study.

_____ _____ _____

Name Date

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE,
TEACHERS CURRENTLY IN CLASSROOM TEACHING

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - TEACHERS CURRENTLY IN CLASSROOM TEACHING

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT: I want to ask you about your career in teaching. I am interested in your responsibilities as a teacher, in how you spend your time, in the way you see your profession. As you can see in the Informed Consent Form, we will be talking to approximately 50 teachers and former teachers. No one person's responses will ever be reported so that they can be attributed to a particular individual or a particular school. If you prefer not to respond to a particular question, please just tell me that. Do you have any questions?

I'll start with some general information about your experience and interests.

BACKGROUND ON INTERVIEWEES

1. What subject(s) do you teach?

   a. _____

   b. _____

   c. _____

2. How many classes per day do you teach? _____

   Approximately how many students do you see each day? _____

3. What is the highest education degree you hold?

   Degree _____

   School _____

   Year _____

4. Since you received your last degree, have you taken additional courses?

   Yes _____ No _____ If yes, what kinds of courses have you taken?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

5. Are you currently taking courses? Yes _____ No _____

   If yes, how many hours a week do you spend in class and in preparation for class? _____ Is the class required by the school district?

   Yes _____ No _____

6. How many years of teaching experience do you have? _____

7. How many years of experience as a high school teacher? _____

8. What extracurricular assignments do you have?

	Assignment	Seasonal	Year-round	Time/Week
a.	_____	_____	_____	_____
b.	_____	_____	_____	_____
c.	_____	_____	_____	_____
d.	_____	_____	_____	_____
e.	_____	_____	_____	_____

9. What time do you typically arrive at school in the morning? _____

   What time do you typically leave school at the end of the day? _____

10. Are you involved in any professional organizations? If so, would you describe yourself as an active member of the organization? Would you estimate approximately how much time per week you spend on each organization with which you are involved?

	Organization	Active	Time/Week (only for active involvement)
a.	_____	Yes ___ No ___	_____
b.	_____	Yes ___ No ___	_____
c.	_____	Yes ___ No ___	_____
d.	_____	Yes ___ No ___	_____

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11. Do you have dependents for whom you are financially responsible?

Yes _____ No _____ If yes, how many? _____

12. Are you the primary contributor to the income for your household?

Yes _____ No _____

13. Did you have income from employment outside of teaching during the last year (Sept. 1, 1980, to Sept. 1, 1981)? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, was your employment during the summer? Yes _____ No _____

Hours/Week _____

Were you employed during the school year? Yes _____ No _____

Hours/Week _____

14. What are your major interests outside of teaching? Please estimate how much time per week you spend on each (include family, leisure, recreation).

	Interest	Time/Week (during school year)
a.	_____	_____
b.	_____	_____
c.	_____	_____
d.	_____	_____
e.	_____	_____

EARLY EXPERIENCES

15. When you first decided to become a classroom teacher, what were the things which attracted you to the job?

    a. _____

    b. _____

    c. _____

16. During your first year as a classroom teacher, what were the major satisfactions you found in teaching?

    a. _____

    b. _____

    c. _____

17. What were the major frustrations which you found during your first year as a classroom teacher?

    a. _____

    b. _____

    c. _____

18. What were the major satisfactions you found in teaching during the last school year (1980-81)?

    a. _____

    b. _____

    c. _____

19. What were the major frustrations you found in teaching during the last school year (1980-81)?

    a. _____

    b. _____

    c. _____

20. How satisfied were you with your salary and fringe benefits as a beginning teacher?

1	2	3	4	5
Very satisfied				Not satisfied

21. Knowing what you know now about classroom teaching, if you were to begin your professional career again, would you again choose to become a classroom teacher?

Yes _____ No _____

Why? _____

_____

_____

CAREER CONTINUUM

22. I'm going to ask you to visualize your teaching career so far as a continuum. If this (give respondent card with line) is your teaching career, would you note the date you first began teaching and then segment the line into what you see as major stages or phases? Please label the phases.

23. Is there a point along the continuum at which you would say you began to think of yourself as a professional teacher? If so, mark it and label it "P.T."

THE TEACHER'S WORK DAY

24. You said you come to school at _____ and leave at _____. Given your typical school day, how many hours do you spend with each of the following?

	Hours
a. Classes or groups of students	_____
b. Individual students	_____
c. Colleagues and administrators	_____
d. Parents and others from outside the school	_____
e. Alone	_____

25. Are there any other groups or individuals with whom you spend time during a typical day? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, please specify. _____

_____

_____

26. Looking at this scale, how much freedom would you say you have to decide how you will distribute your time among the activities which you listed in the previous question?

1 2 3 4 5

a great deal very little

27. Would you like more time to spend with any of the above groups?

Yes _____ No _____ If yes, which group(s)? _____

_____

28. What could the school system do to provide more time for you to work with _____?

_____

_____

_____

_____

29. You said you are at school from _____ to _____ and responsible for _____.

Beyond your regular school day and your extracurricular assignments, how many hours per week do you work on school-related activities? _____

30. Would you say you spend more, less, or about the same amount of time on school-related activities as your fellow teachers do?

More _____ Same _____ Less _____

31. Let's go back again to days at school. How can you tell if it's been a "really good day" at school?

_____

_____

_____

_____

32. If you have had a really good day, which of the following groups of people are likely to be aware of that fact? (Card)

_____ administrators
_____ other teachers
_____ students
_____ family and friends
_____ parents of students

33. How can you tell if it's been a "really bad day" at school?

_____

_____

_____

34. Again, if you have had a really bad day, which of the following groups of people are likely to be aware of that fact? (Card)

_____ administrators
_____ other teachers
_____ students
_____ family and friends
_____ parents of students

ACHIEVEMENT AS A TEACHER

35. Would you list two or three things that teachers should try most to achieve in their school? What are they really trying to do? (Lortie, #34)

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

36. What changes--of any kind that occur to you--would allow you to do those things better? (Lortie, #35)

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

37. What kind of reputation would you like to have with your students? (Lortie, #36)

_____

_____

_____

38. Do you feel you are the same person inside the classroom as you are outside? Yes _____ No _____

If no, what sorts of differences do you see?

_____

_____

_____

39. What are some things that you find fun about your work? (Lortie, #42)

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

40. What are some things about your work that you find really unpleasant?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

41. Which of the following statements best describes your involvement with the school and with other teachers? (Card)

_____ a. I am very aware of what is going on outside my classroom.

_____ b. I am somewhat aware of what is going on outside my classroom.

_____ c. I am not very aware of what is happening outside my own classroom.

_____ d. I am unaware of what is happening outside my own classroom.

42. The scale on this card represents your satisfaction with how much you know about what is going on in the school. What position on the scale best represents what you feel?

1 2 3 4 5

Very satisfied Not satisfied

43. The scale on this card represents how often you participate in making decisions that affect the whole school. Which position on the scale best describes how often you are involved?

1 2 3 4 5

Frequently Never

44. When you participate in making decisions that affect the entire school, to what extent do you feel your participation is influential?

1 2 3 4 5

Great influence No influence

46. What kinds of support can principals give teachers to help them do their jobs more effectively? (Examples: supplies, suggestions for improving teaching.)

		To what degree is this help available to you now?
a.	_____	1 2 3 4 5 Always available Not available
b.	_____	1 2 3 4 5 Always available Not available
c.	_____	1 2 3 4 5 Always available Not available
d.	_____	1 2 3 4 5 Always available Not available

47. Use this scale to indicate how much prestige you feel teachers have in comparison with other professional occupations.

1 2 3 4 5

More prestige Less prestige

48. Name another occupation you can see yourself doing if you were not teaching.

_____

49. How does the basic salary you receive as a teacher compare to the salary you could receive in that occupation, given the same number of years of experience?

_____

50. How do the fringe benefits you receive as a teacher compare to the fringe benefits you could receive in that occupation, given the same number of years of experience?

_____

51. How satisfied are you with your current income from teaching?

1 2 3 4 5

Very satisfied Not satisfied

52. Material benefits aside, what do you think you gain by being a teacher rather than in another occupation?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

53. Material benefits aside, what do you think you lose by being a teacher rather than in another occupation?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

54. Some descriptions of teaching as an occupation portray the work as lonely and isolating because teachers spend so little time with other adults. Do you think that is an accurate description of teaching?

Yes _____ No _____ Please explain.

_____

_____

_____

COMMITMENT TO THE PROFESSION

55. Consider people you know who have been in high school teaching 10 years or more. What do you think are the things which keep them in teaching?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

56. Consider successful teachers you know who have left high school teaching after having taught 5 or more years. Why do you think they left?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

57. Let's just suppose that you received three offers of other teaching jobs at the same time. Which of the following factors about the jobs would be of interest to you? Please choose the top three and rank them. (Lortie, #43)

_____ Nature of the student body

_____ Salary and fringe benefits

_____ Professional status

_____ Administrative support

_____ Professional freedom

_____ Physical plant, equipment, books and materials

_____ Geographical location

_____ Course assignments and extracurricular responsibilities

58. Are there any factors not on this list that you would consider in looking at a new job?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

59. This scale represents the degree to which you feel you could leave your present position and get another job in teaching. What point on the scale best represents your ability to get another job in teaching? (card)

1 2 3 4 5

Could easily do it Highly unlikely

60. What point on the same scale best represents your ability to get a job outside of teaching?

1 2 3 4 5

Could easily do it Highly unlikely

61. How free do you feel you are to move to another state or another city within the state?

1 2 3 4 5

Could easily do it Highly unlikely

62. Some teachers think it would be a genuine gain for them to leave the classroom to enter administrative work in schools. Do you agree?

1 2 3 4 5

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

63. Do you think you will still be a teacher 5 years from now? Yes ____ No ____

If yes, do you think you will still be a teacher 10 years from now?

Yes _____ No _____

64. If either answer is NO, please describe why you think you will leave.

_____

_____

_____

_____

65. If both answers are YES, please describe why you think you will still be in teaching.

_____

_____

_____

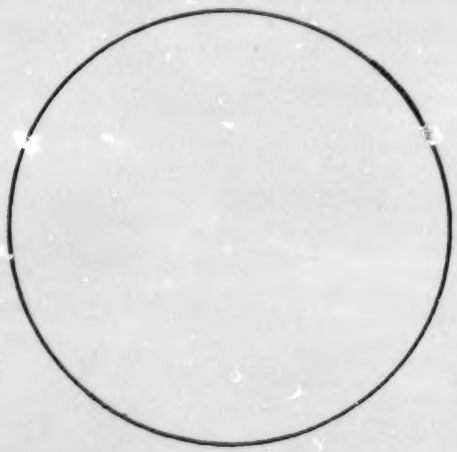
_____

SUMMARY QUESTIONS

66. Which point on this scale best describes how you feel about your success as a teacher?

1	2	3	4	5
Great success				Little success

67. We've talked about things you like and things that frustrate you about teaching. To sum it all up, suppose this circle represents your work as a teacher. Could you divide it up in terms of the proportion of the job you find satisfying and the proportion you find dissatisfying? Label the parts "S" and "D."



68. Is there anything you would like to add that you feel I should know about your teaching experiences?

_____

_____

_____

69. Do you have any questions you want to ask of me?

_____

_____

70. May I contact you again if I have any questions about what we've discussed?

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE,
TEACHERS WHO HAVE LEFT CLASSROOM TEACHING

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - TEACHERS WHO HAVE LEFT CLASSROOM TEACHING

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT: I want to ask you about your career in teaching. I am interested in your responsibilities during your last year as a teacher, in how you spent your time, in the way you saw the profession. As you can see in the Informed Consent Form, we will be talking to approximately 50 teachers and former teachers. No one person's responses will ever be reported so that they can be attributed to a particular individual or a particular school. If you prefer not to respond to a particular question, please just tell me that. Do you have any questions?

I'll start with some general information about your experience and interests.

BACKGROUND ON INTERVIEWEES

1. What subject(s) did you teach (last year of teaching)?

   a. _____

   b. _____

   c. _____

2. How many classes per day did you teach? _____

   Approximately how many students did you see each day? _____

3. What is the highest education degree you hold?

   Degree _____

   School _____

   Year _____

4. Since you received your last degree, have you taken additional courses?

   Yes _____ No _____ If yes, what kinds of courses have you taken?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

5. Were you taking courses during the last year you taught? Yes _____ No _____

   If yes, how many hours a week did you spend in class and in preparation for class? _____ Was the class required by the school district?

   Yes _____ No _____

6. How many years of teaching experience did you have? _____

7. How many years of experience as a high school teacher? _____

8. What extracurricular assignments did you have (last year of teaching)?

	Assignment	Seasonal	Year-round	Time/Week
a.	_____	_____	_____	_____
b.	_____	_____	_____	_____
c.	_____	_____	_____	_____
d.	_____	_____	_____	_____
e.	_____	_____	_____	_____

9. What time did you typically arrive at school in the morning? _____

   What time did you typically leave school at the end of the day? _____

10. Were you involved in any professional organizations? If so, would you have described yourself as an active member of the organization? Would you estimate approximately how much time per week you spent on each organization with which you were involved?

	Organization	Active	Time/Week (only for active involvement)
a.	_____	Yes ___ No ___	_____
b.	_____	Yes ___ No ___	_____
c.	_____	Yes ___ No ___	_____
d.	_____	Yes ___ No ___	_____

11. When you were teaching, did you have dependents for whom you were financially responsible?

Yes _____ No _____ If yes, how many? _____

12. Were you the primary contributor to the income for your household?

Yes _____ No _____

13. Did you have income from employment outside of teaching during the last year you taught? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, was your employment during the summer? Yes _____ No _____

Hours/Week _____

Were you employed during the school year? Yes _____ No _____

Hours/Week _____

14. What were your major interests outside of teaching? Please estimate how much time per week you spent on each (include family, leisure, recreation).

Interest	Time/Week (during school year while teaching)	Time/Week Now
a.		
b.		
c.		
d.		
e.		

EARLY EXPERIENCES

15. When you first decided to become a classroom teacher, what were the things which attracted you to the job?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

16. During your first year as a classroom teacher, what were the major satisfactions you found in teaching?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

17. What were the major frustrations which you found during your first year as a classroom teacher?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

18. What were the major satisfactions you found in teaching during the last year you taught?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

19. What were the major frustrations you found in teaching during the last year you taught?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

20. How satisfied were you with your salary and fringe benefits as a beginning teacher?

1	2	3	4	5
Very satisfied				Not satisfied

21. Knowing what you know now about classroom teaching, if you were to begin your professional career again, would you again choose to become a classroom teacher?

Yes _____ No _____

Why? _____

_____

_____

CAREER CONTINUUM

22. I'm going to ask you to visualize your teaching career as a continuum. If this (give respondent card with line) is your teaching career, would you note the date you first began teaching and the date you left the profession and then segment the line into what you see as major stages or phases? Please label the phases.

23. Is there a point along the continuum at which you would say you began to think of yourself as a professional teacher? If so, mark it and label it "P.T."

THE TEACHER'S WORK DAY

24. You said you came to school at _____ and left at _____. Given your typical school day, how many hours do you spend with each of the following?

	Hours
a. Classes or groups of students	_____
b. Individual students	_____
c. Colleagues and administrators	_____
d. Parents and others from outside the school	_____
e. Alone	_____

25. Were there any other groups or individuals with whom you spent time during a typical day? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, please specify. _____

_____

_____

26. Looking at this scale, how much freedom would you say you had to decide how you would have distributed your time among the activities which you listed in the previous question?

1 2 3 4 5

a great deal very little

27. Would you have liked more time to spend with any of the above groups?

Yes _____ No _____ If yes, which group(s)? _____

_____

28. What could the school system have done to provide more time for you to work with _____?

_____

_____

_____

_____

29. You said you were at school from _____ to _____ and responsible for _____.

Beyond your regular school day and your extracurricular assignments, how many hours per week did you work on school-related activities? _____

30. Would you say you spent more, less, or about the same amount of time on school-related activities as your fellow teachers did?

More _____ Same _____ Less _____

31. Let's go back again to days at school. How could you tell if it had been a "really good day" at school?

_____

_____

_____

_____

32. If you had a really good day, which of the following groups of people were likely to be aware of that fact? (Card)

_____ administrators
_____ other teachers
_____ students
_____ family and friends
_____ parents of students

33. How could you tell if it had been a "really bad day" at school?

_____

_____

_____

34. Again, if you had a really bad day, which of the following groups of people were likely to be aware of that fact? (Card)

_____ administrators
_____ other teachers
_____ students
_____ family and friends
_____ parents of students

ACHIEVEMENT AS A TEACHER

35. Would you list two or three things that teachers should try most to achieve in their school? What are they really trying to do? (Lortie, #34)

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

36. What changes--of any kind that occur to you--would have allowed you to do those things better? (Lortie, #35)

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

37. What kind of reputation did you want to have with your students? (Lortie, #36)

_____

_____

_____

38. Did you feel you were the same person inside the classroom as you were outside? Yes _____ No _____

If no, what sorts of differences did you see?

_____

_____

_____

39. What were some things that you found fun about teaching? (Lortie, #42)

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

40. What were some things about teaching that you found really unpleasant?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

41. Which of the following statements best describes the involvement you had with the school and with other teachers? (Card)

_____ a. I was very aware of what was going on outside my classroom.

_____ b. I was somewhat aware of what was going on outside my classroom.

_____ c. I was not very aware of what was happening outside my own classroom.

_____ d. I was unaware of what was happening outside my own classroom.

42. The scale on this card represents your satisfaction with how much you knew about what was going on in the school. What position on the scale best represents what you felt?

1 2 3 4 5

Very satisfied Not satisfied

43. The scale on this card respresents how often you participated in making decisions that affected the whole school. Which position on the scale best describes how often you were involved?

1 2 3 4 5

Frequently Never

44. When you participated in making decisions that affected the entire school, to what extent do you feel your participation was influential?

1 2 3 4 5

Great influence No influence

46. What kinds of support can principals give teachers to help them do their jobs more effectively? (Examples: supplies, suggestions for improving teaching.)

To what degree was this help available to you?

a. _____ 1 2 3 4 5
Always available Not available

b. _____ 1 2 3 4 5
Always available Not available

c. _____ 1 2 3 4 5
Always available Not available

d. _____ 1 2 3 4 5
Always available Not available

47. Use this scale to indicate how much prestige you feel teachers have in comparison with other professional occupations.

1 2 3 4 5
More prestige Less prestige

48. What is your current employment?

_____

49. How does the basic salary you receive now compare to the salary you received in teaching?

_____

50. How do the fringe benefits you receive now compare to the fringe benefits you received in teaching?

_____

51. In your last year of teaching, how satisfied were you with your income?

1 2 3 4 5
Very satisfied Not satisfied

52. Material benefits aside, what are the advantages to being a teacher rather than in another occupation?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

53. Material benefits aside, what are the disadvantages to being a teacher rather than in another occupation?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

54. Some descriptions of teaching as an occupation portray the work as lonely and isolating because teachers spend so little time with other adults. Do you think that is an accurate description of teaching?

Yes _____ No _____ Please explain.

_____

_____

_____

COMMITMENT TO THE PROFESSION

55. Consider people you know who have been in high school teaching 10 years or more. What do you think are the things which keep them in teaching?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

56. Consider successful teachers you know who have left high school teaching after having taught 5 or more years. Why do you think they left?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

57. Let's just suppose that you received three offers of teaching jobs at the same time. Which of the following factors about the jobs would be of interest to you? Please choose the top three and rank them. (Lortie, #43)

_____ Nature of the student body

_____ Salary and fringe benefits

_____ Professional status

_____ Administrative support

_____ Professional freedom

_____ Physical plant, equipment, books and materials

_____ Geographical location

_____ Course assignments and extracurricular responsibilities

58. Are there any factors not on this list that you would consider in looking at a new job in teaching?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

59. How easily could you have moved from your teaching position to another job in teaching? (Card)

1 2 3 4 5

Could easily have done it Highly unlikely

60. When you were a teacher, how easily did you feel you could get a job outside of teaching?

1 2 3 4 5

Could easily do it Highly unlikely

61. How easy was it to actually find another job?

1 2 3 4 5

Very easy Very difficult

62. Did you ever consider leaving classroom teaching for administrative work in schools? Yes _____ No _____

Why or why not? _____

_____

_____

_____

63. Do you think you will ever go back to teaching? Yes _____ No _____

Why or why not? _____

_____

_____

_____

SUMMARY QUESTIONS

64. Which point on this scale best describes how you felt about your success as a teacher?

1 2 3 4 5

Great success Little success

65. We've talked about things you liked and things that frustrated you about teaching. To sum it all up, suppose this circle represented your work as a teacher. Could you divide it up in terms of the proportion of the job you found satisfying and the proportion you found dissatisfying? Label the parts "S" and "D."

66. Is there anything you would like to add that you feel I should know about your teaching experiences?

_____

_____

_____

_____

67. Do you have any questions you want to ask of me?

_____

_____

_____

68. May I contact you again if I have any questions about what we've discussed?

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE, ADMINISTRATORS

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - ADMINISTRATORS

1. CONSIDER THE SUCCESSFUL HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS WHO LEFT TEACHING DURING THE PAST 2-3 YEARS.

2. HOW MANY?

3. WHAT ARE SOME OF THE REASONS WHY THEY LEFT?

4. WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT REASON?

5. IS THERE ANYTHING THAT DISTINGUISHES THEM AS A GROUP FROM THE STAYERS?

6. WHAT COULD YOU HAVE DONE TO KEEP THEM?

7. ARE YOU KEEPING THE ONES THAT YOU WANT TO KEEP?

8. ARE YOU LOSING SOME THAT YOU WANT TO KEEP?

9. IS THERE ANYTHING THAT YOU CAN DO TO KEEP THEM?

10. CAN YOU DO ANYTHING TO ENCOURAGE LESS THAN SUCCESSFUL TEACHERS TO LEAVE TEACHING?

11. ARE YOU GETTING THE KINDS OF HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS THAT YOU WANT TO GET FROM THE CURRENT POOL OF CANDIDATES?

12. HAS THAT POOL OF CANDIDATES CHANGED OVER THE PAST 10-15 YEARS?

    a. HOW?

13. WHAT KIND OF ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT SHOULD THE PRINCIPAL GIVE TEACHERS?

14. WHAT KIND OF ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT DO TEACHERS EXPECT FROM THE PRINCIPAL?

15. WHAT KIND OF ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT DO TEACHERS EXPECT FROM THE SUPERINTENDENT AND/OR ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT?

16. WHAT KIND OF ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT CAN PRINCIPALS REALISTICALLY PROVIDE?

17. WHAT KIND OF ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT CAN SUPERINTENDENTS REALISTICALLY PROVIDE?

18. WHAT KIND OF ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT CAN ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENTS REALISTICALLY PROVIDE (IF APPROPRIATE)?

19. WHAT ARE THREE THINGS THAT SUCCESSFUL TEACHERS OUGHT TO ACHIEVE? TO BE ABOUT?

20. HOW CAN THE SCH[illegible] SYSTEM HELP THEM ACHIEVE THESE?

21. SPECIFICALLY, DO STAYERS OR LEAVERS DIFFER ON THE FOLLOWING:

a. REASON FOR BECOMING A TEACHER

b. MAJOR SATISFACTIONS IN TEACHING

c. MAJOR FRUSTRATIONS IN TEACHING

d. ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE TIMES

e. TIME SPENT ON SCHOOL RELATED ACTIVITIES

f. MAJOR TIME INVESTMENTS OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL THAT INTERFERE WITH TEACHING

22. IN GENERAL, WHAT INCENTIVES OR DISINCENTIVES DOES THE SCHOOL SYSTEM CONTROL THAT CAN HAVE A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT UPON THE SUCCESSFUL TEACHER'S DECISION TO LEAVE OR STAY IN TEACHING?

a. DO THESE CHANGE OVER TIME?

b. ARE THEY DIFFERENT FOR YOUNGER OR OLDER?

c. ARE THEY DIFFERENT FOR MALES/FEMALES?

d. ARE THEY DIFFERENT FOR MARRIED/UNMARRIED?

23. ANY OTHER QUESTION THAT OCCURS TO YOU THAT WE SHOULD HAVE ASKED?

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